THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 11, 1948 NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

BY SETTING UP A RUMP ADMINISTRATION in their zone and then boycotting the regular Berlin elections, the Russians presumably hoped to prevent the demonstration of Communist weakness which a fair, city-wide vote would have provided. But the dodge was a little too crude to be effective. The designation of Friedrich Ebert as mayor by a mere show of hands in an open meeting called by the Communists was an obvious fraud, while the elections, held five days later in the Western zones—and prohibited in the Soviet zone—resulted in overwhelming repudiation of Russian tactics. But what seems to us more important than the election itself is the fact that Russia was obviously more anxious to establish a Communist-controlled regime in Berlin or even the unconvincing simulacrum of such a regime than to achieve a settlement with the Western powers under the Bramuglia formula—which Russia had been the first to accept. We still believe the Kremlin would like such an agreement, which would provide the basis for four-power discussion of the whole German problem. But evidently it considered a city-wide election under four-power control too big a price to pay, since a "Western" victory won under such circumstances could not be written off as "fixed." Whether the decision was a shrewd one seems most doubtful. Its immediate effect was to give the three Western powers a moral advantage they greatly needed. They promptly notified the special United Nations committee now working on a currency plan for Berlin that Soviet action in setting up an "illegal" government and boycotting the regular elections had created "new and grave problems" in the way of a settlement. They further insisted that if Russia wanted to end the Berlin dispute, it must first disown the rump government and permit elections. Obviously, the existence in Berlin of competing German regimes would make a currency agreement, or any other agreement, meaningless; this time, the Russians have provided the West with good arguments to fortify its doubts about renewed negotiations.

*

A FANTASTIC ALLIANCE OF ARABS, PRO-ARABS, and strongly pro-Israel delegates in the United Nations eliminated all reference to the Bernadotte plan in the Anglo-American resolution on Palestine, so that the version finally accepted by the Political Committee was almost innocuous. But the margin of votes was too small (twenty-five to twenty-one, with nine abstentions and three members absent) to give even the diluted resolution much chance in the plenary session, where a two-thirds' majority is necessary for adoption. As this issue goes to press, the inevitable, frantic vote-hunting is in progress, and it seems possible that new amendments may be introduced in the hope of winning the support required from among the Soviet pro-Israel group of delegates. Meanwhile, a decision on Israel's application for membership in the U. N., strongly advocated by the American delegate, Philip Jessup, is being held up pending a decision on the Anglo-American proposals. The delay is apparently being used for the cynical purpose of trying to force the Jewish state to accept the most controversial provision that was dropped from the resolution, that is, an exchange of territories which would give part of the Negev to Transjordan, Britain's ally, in return for land occupied by Israel in western Galilee. This quid pro quo theory, discussed by Freda Kirchwey in another column, is the key to all recent British maneuvers. It is to be hoped that the United States will no longer lend itself to an objective which has blocked every move toward a decent settlement since long before the Bernadotte report put the scheme into writing. Our government should adopt the position that territorial arrangements, instead of being dictated from above by the U. N., should be negotiated directly by the Israelis and Arabs, with such help as a conciliation commission with limited powers may be able to provide.

*

A SOBERING GLANCE AT THE LETTER ON page 679 by Hollister Noble is recommended to those who take "the American Way" too much for granted. Mr. Noble's wife is one of the ten left-wingers in Los Angeles who were routed out of their beds early one morning, just before last month's elections, subjected to an eighteen-hour ordeal before a United States district judge and a federal grand jury, and then jailed "indefinitely, without bail," until willing to answer questions about the Communist Party. These "witnesses," as they were blandly tagged by government attorneys, were only released, after nine days incarceration with common criminals, on the order of a concientious Circuit Court of Appeals judge in San Francisco. A full hearing of their case scheduled for this week must, we believe, result in a reversal. Meanwhile, we urge Attorney General Tom Clark to make a full investigation of this fan-

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

tastic affair with an eye toward taking suitable disciplinary action against the United States attorneys who, with Judge Pierson M. Hall, made a burlesque of justice and the grand-jury procedure. . . . While we are at it, we call Mr. Clark's attention, by way of contrast, to the lethargy of federal investigators and attorneys in the case of Robert Mallard of Toombs County, Georgia. Mallard, a Negro, was killed, according to his wife, by members of a white gang that had blocked the road along which he was driving his family home from church one night last month. A week later, Mrs. Mallard was clapped into jail and accused of murdering her husband, only to be released the next day without explanation. Five "suspects" were rounded up last weekend, after the case had received some attention in the press, but at this writing two have already been released and the other three likely will be. If local investigation bogs down altogether, the next steps are clearly up to the federal authorities. To date, however, the FBI and the Justice Department say they are each waiting for the other's reports. It is past time for Mr. Clark to fire them with some of the misplaced vigor of his West Coast attorneys.

*

AS ELOQUENT A SIGN OF THE TIMES AS ANY is the apparent necessity for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America to deny that it is "communistic." At first, we found it hard to believe that its general secretary, Dr. Samuel McCrae Cavert, really had to set the record straight; he might merely have run down the list of unimpeachably Republican names that have long been associated with the Council—such as John Foster Dulles. But when we looked at the charges, we realized that this would hardly have sufficed. Only two months ago, the American Council of Christian Churches, a rival organization, had warned its members to oppose the appointment of Dulles as Secretary of State—then a reasonable prospect—on the ground that he had long been "an effective tool" of "extremely radical and pacifist" church leaders prominent in the Federal Council. What appears to have stung the self-styled fundamentalist organization into a frenzy was a statement put out by Dr. Cavert's organization which said that "there can be no Christian sanction for one-sided support of either economic individualism or economic collectivism." This, said the Reverend Carl McIntire, president of the American Council, "cuts the foundation out of our society so that it can be rebased and remotivated"—and that, he is sure, is sinful. Inasmuch as not even Dr. McIntire, we assume, pretends that our profit-motivated society sprang directly from the Sermon on the Mount, there appears to be a slight confusion in terminology. Shouldn't Dr. Cavert's basically Christian organization—which, incidentally, has just dedicated itself to the cause of "a non-segregated church and

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a non-segregated society"—claim the word "fundamentalism," leaving the American Council of Christian Churches to wallow contentedly in the fleshpots of twentieth-century materialism?

*

AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF GANDHI LAST January, *The Nation* wrote: "The men who sought to eliminate the Mahatma's influence may find they have only succeeded in perpetuating it." Events of the past ten months have done much to strengthen that view. There has been a steady improvement in relations between the Hindu majority and the forty million Moslems who remain within the Indian state. Even during September, when the Hyderabad incident produced anxious tension, not one communal outbreak occurred anywhere in the country. Supported by the spirit and memory of Gandhi, Premier Nehru and his friends have made real headway in securing acceptance of their ideal of a secular state in which men of all religions enjoy equal rights as citizens. And now, the doctrine of untouchability—a blot on Indian civilization against which the Mahatma battled all his life—has been dealt a deadly blow. Amid cries of "Victory to Gandhi," the Constituent Assembly last week approved a clause in the new constitution banning the observance of untouchability in any form and declaring: "Enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be a punishable offense in accordance with the law." With this decision, the untouchables, or outcasts, who have been restricted to the most menial jobs, forced to live in segregated slums, and forbidden any kind of social intercourse with caste Hindus, have won their charter of freedom. This does not mean that the actual practice of untouchability will vanish overnight, any more than the repeal of segregation laws in the Southern states would mean immediate full social equality for Negroes. Custom dies hard, but a custom of this kind, which the more enlightened Hindus have long detested, seems likely to wither fairly rapidly now that it is deprived of legal sanction.

*

GREAT AS THE TEMPTATION IS, WE DRAW NO moral from the delightful episode that occurred last week in the capital of Costa Rica. In the kind of colorful ceremony usually reserved for saber-rattling and a review of the troops, Provisional President José Figueres lightly disbanded his country's army and, before the eyes of a gasping diplomatic corps, delivered its principal fortress to a committee for the establishment of a museum. Inevitably, we conjured up a similar scene in Washington, with Truman announcing on Inauguration Day that, the country being at peace, the army, navy, and air force would no longer be needed; that Forrestal, Royall, and Sullivan had better pop back to their banks and law offices because the Pentagon was now part of the Smithsonian Institution, and any generals caught lurking in the corridors were in danger of being stuffed and mounted. We had just got to the point in our dream where the fifteen-billion-dollar appropriation for defense was to be plowed into the Marshall Plan, so that our own economy wouldn't suffer too sudden a jolt, when a sobering realization hit us between the eyes: the United States is not Costa Rica. Hostile Canadians would be even less likely to pour across our borders than are Nicaraguans to violate the soil of Costa Rica, but President Truman, unlike President Figueres, has more than immediate neighbors to think of. Not even Henry Wallace, we assume, would expect this country to disarm unilaterally, trusting that the Soviet leaders would be driven to emulation either by shame or out of genuine relief. Could we, at least, make a start? Supposedly, that was the purpose of the Baruch plan for international atomic controls. But the Russians, nursing their sovereignty, will hear of no enforcement procedures, and we will hear of no tentative plan to diminish our stockpile by so much as a single atomic bomb. Luxurious Costa Rica—small enough to afford big ideas!

*

THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY PROJECT, WHICH has been kicked around for so many years now, has just received new encouragement from two large Middle Western corporations. In recent letters to Senators Taft and Bricker, George M. Humphrey, president of the M. A. Hanna Company, hitherto a strong opponent of the scheme, admits a change of mind and asks that the matter be given "thoughtful review." The chairman of the Republic Steel Corporation has taken the same line. Both concerns have large interests in the ore fields of the Lake Superior region, which are now within sight of exhaustion. The most hopeful alternative sources of supply are the huge newly discovered deposits in northern Quebec and Labrador which the Hanna concern is developing in partnership with Canadian interests. Without the proposed waterway, the American steel industry, as it becomes increasingly dependent on these and other foreign mines, would tend to shift its plants to the Atlantic seaboard. Economically, such a move would be wasteful, since the Midwest steel centers lie nearer coal supplies and the Great Lakes ports have built up vast facilities for bulk handling of ore; socially, it would be disruptive, necessitating wholesale migration of labor and creating new ghost towns. And from the defense point of view, as Major George Fielding Eliot has pointed out, it would be much easier to protect ore-carriers moving up the St. Lawrence than down the Atlantic coast. The power aspect of the St. Lawrence project is also becoming a matter of urgency. For these and other equally persuasive reasons, we look to the Eighty-first Congress to act on this question.

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Replacing Taft-Hartley

FEDERAL laws passed before the recent war to guarantee the rights of unions were designed chiefly to protect the right of collective bargaining against anti-union employers and courts. Yet the propaganda of die-hard employers ceaselessly attacked such legislation on the ground that it was "one-sided." It placed, they said, obligations on employers but none on employees. This was a specious argument, since the obligation it placed on employers was only to bargain collectively and in good faith —a cornerstone of national policy which did not require enforcement against labor for the simple reason that it was labor that sought collective bargaining in the first place. One might as well say that a law imposing taxation or universal military service is "one-sided."

The Taft-Hartley act, which superseded the Wagner act, contains a miscellany of provisions embodying many curbs on unions, the full potentialities of which have not yet been tested. Some of these provisions, however, have aroused bitter resentment on the part of labor, and some have prolonged industrial strife instead of allaying it. The closed shop is outlawed, even in industries where for years it was accepted by employers and has worked well, as in printing. Unions are forbidden to spend money in elections in behalf of chosen candidates—a provision which with strict interpretation could even interfere with the freedom of the labor press. No union can avail itself of the limited protection of the right of collective bargaining, taken over from the Wagner act, unless its officials sign affidavits that they are not Communists, a provision which outstanding anti-Communists such as Philip Murray and John L. Lewis have on principle refused to obey. Strikers for better wages or hours now do not have the right to vote for the organization they wish to represent them if their places have been filled by the struck employer. It would require a large volume to enumerate the dangers, open and hidden, which the Taft-Hartley act carries for a free trade-union movement.

If our economic order is to work, labor as well as capital must have collective power. Yet if our order is to remain free, great power must be used in the general interest; no candid person can deny that abuses sometimes occur on the side of labor as well as on the side of management. Some unions are governed by dictatorial methods; in some, the rights of the members to choose their officials and policies, or even to scrutinize their financial affairs, are not safeguarded. Some unions have strictly limited membership and exorbitant dues or fees. The jurisdictional dispute injures the public and innocent employers. Reckless use of the strike weapon by unions in essential services or strategic positions can cripple the national economy. Such abuses are normally the exception rather than the rule. The Taft-Hartley act has had little effect on the worst of them; it threatens the status and power of unions instead of establishing rules to which responsible, democratic unions could not object.

At the same time, organized labor should be challenged to present a program for dealing with the acknowledged faults and avoiding the perils to the national welfare which abuse of the new and great power of unions can involve. If legislation is needed, it should be of the sort which can be approved and administered by those who do not wish to cripple the trade-union movement, but only to increase its prestige and effectiveness as an essential constituent of democracy.

Nonsense About the Negev

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

FROM the distance of Paris or Washington, Palestine's internal boundaries are fairly easy to rearrange according to whim or expediency. The Jews want western Galilee? All right, but naturally they don't get something for nothing. Let them hand over a piece of the Negev; they can't reasonably complain about a few hundred square miles of sand. Obviously, the Arabs deserve something in exchange.

This line of argument is generally accepted; the President himself uses it, so friends of his say. It isn't that he wants to hurt Israel. On the contrary, he has said Israel is to lose no territory without its consent—no territory, that is, allotted to it in the original partition plan. But if Israel is assured of the boundaries fixed in the partition plan and the Bernadotte report is thrown out, then the Jews shouldn't be stubborn about a piece of the Negev.

From Paris and Washington, this probably seems logical. After all, politics is a process of bargaining. Since Mr. Truman has forced the American delegation—and finally the British—to give up the Bernadotte plan, which both had indorsed and the British had fought for, how can he refuse, or countenance an Israeli refusal, to permit some reduction of Jewish territory in the process of negotiating a final settlement?

And so, bit by bit, the quid pro quo theory is frozen into doctrine; and the Jews, if they resist, become defiers of U. N. authority, even aggressors.

IN ISRAEL, it looks different. There, the Negev is not a wedge of desert to be sliced up and distributed. It is Israel's frontier, its Imperial Valley, its future. In the Negev are settlements of young pioneers who have committed their lives to its redemption. They have irrigated hundreds of acres of sand and grown vegetables and grain and even forests; and since last spring have lost

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them again under the shells of Egyptian invaders; and have hung on, fighting. They have reclaimed land with their sweat and held it with their blood. In the Negev, too, lies the sure promise of industrial crops, still unplanted, which can make Israel self-sufficing, and oil and other minerals, still untapped.

Negev means "south land." The urge into the Negev is akin to the impulse that drove American pioneers westward. There is more than national self-interest in this drive; it is creative and fierce beyond prudence or reason. It would be impossible for a government to survive in Israel that gave up any considerable part of the Negev.

The Arabs there are Bedouins; their number, even, is unknown, and variable. They bring their flocks across the desert, moving into Transjordan or Egypt as their needs dictate, without knowledge or concern about boundaries. But what they are or how many they may be is really beside the point, for the idea is not to give the Negev to them. The idea is to give it to King Abdullah in return for land in western Galilee—which is hardly Abdullah's to swap since it is occupied at present by Israel and since, in addition, he has never had any jurisdiction or even influence in northern Palestine. Galilee, east and west, was taken by Israeli troops from Palestinian "irregulars" and the armies of Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq which had invaded Palestine even before the British moved out last May. Those countries lost Galilee and surely cannot reconquer it, but even so they may inquire, rather plaintively, how come Transjordan gets title to part of the Negev in exchange for land which borders only on Lebanon. The thing gets complicated once you are on the ground, or even when you look at a map.

The Egyptians, too, might challenge this curious barter scheme, since they are the only authentic invaders of the Negev, the people who tried to wrest it from Israel and who, though defeated and besieged, remain in pockets at Faluja and at Gaza on the coast. As ex-conquerors of part of the Negev, have they less claim than their neighbor and rival across the Jordan?

THE Jews ask different questions. Why, they ask, should we give up to Abdullah, Britain's little factotum, an area that is ours by right of settlement, development, and armed defense—as well as by the decision of the United Nations Assembly—in compensation for a piece of territory we successfully took from other invading armies? Why, in any case, should Israel pay any aggressor Arab state for land it holds, even land reluctantly surrendered when partition was voted? Partition conferred no rights to Palestinian territory on Abdullah or on any Arab ruler. If the Jews are to pay for western Galilee with land in the Negev, the logic of partition would dictate that payment be made to the independent Arab state provided for in the resolution of November 29. To be sure, there is no Arab state, and this fact poses a nice legal question if the quid pro quo theory is to prevail. Would the part of the Negev paid over by Israel be given to a legal fiction or to one of the aggressor Arab states? The question is straight out of Alice in Wonderland.

But the answer is straight out of Whitehall. The Negev, or as much of it as the Jews can be pressured into relinquishing, should obviously go to the one Arab state which the British totally control, however little claim to the area that state may have, and without regard to the embarrassingly patent fact that Transjordan loses nothing by the inclusion of western Galilee in Israel.

I SUGGEST a look at the silhouette maps on this page, taken by permission of the publishers from I. F. Stone's excellent record of Israel's fight for existence.* They show what has happened to the proposed Jewish

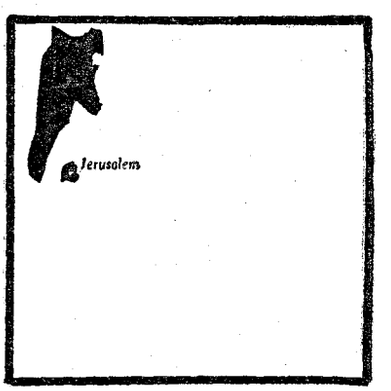
*"This Is Israel." Boni and Gaer, $2.75.

PALESTINE PARTITIONS

Palestine as designated under the Balfour Declaration, 1917.

Palestine after Transjordan was taken away by Great Britain, 1922.

State of Israel as designated by the United Nations, 1947.



State of Israel proposed by the Bernadotte Plan, 1948.

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National Home since 1917. Its original area of 45,000 square miles was reduced to about 10,000 when the British, on their own and over the protest of the League of Nations, sliced off 35,000 square miles east of the Jordan to create Abdullah's realm. The partition plan divided the modest remainder into Jewish and Arab areas, allotting 5,500 square miles to the Jewish state-to-be. The boundaries suggested by Count Bernadotte, amputating the Negev (3,800 square miles) and adding western Galilee (420 square miles), would have reduced Israel to some 2,200 square miles (see map 4), which is around half the size of Connecticut and a little more than a third the area assigned the Jews by the U. N. decision. The Bernadotte plan has been abandoned, mostly because President Truman did not like it and reversed the position taken at Paris by Secretary Marshall. But the idea of a "bargain" remains. The British in Paris call it "reciprocity."

To urge that Israel should not yield one mile of the Negev would be silly. In negotiating directly with the Arabs, the Jewish state may find good reasons for making concessions, in land or other trading counters. What should be rigidly insisted upon, however, is the abandonment of the quid pro quo idea. This notion represents not an honest effort to find a basis for peace in Palestine nor an honest bargain, but a devious method of assuring Great Britain military bases on the border of Egypt, a link in its line of strategic communications, and probable new sources of oil. Britain's demand for special arrangements at Haifa and Lydda is part of the same maneuver. In terms of logic or politics, or in plain human terms, the idea makes no sense whatever. Israel has no obligation, under the U. N. or under heaven, to pay Abdullah for land held in Galilee in order to oblige the British Foreign Office. The sooner that is understood, the better for international honesty.

De Gaulle in 1949?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I. The Paradox of the Left

Paris, December 3

AS CHRISTMAS approaches, the newspapers here are beginning to feature their annual forecasts for the new year. Thus far the prediction most in vogue is that De Gaulle will come to power in 1949. The General's star has been rising in recent weeks, as a result not so much of his own efforts as of the deterioration of the Third Force, which was created "to bar the road to De Gaulle and communism."

In an article written last September* I expressed the view that the Third Force, devised by anti-Communists as a substitute for a genuine left coalition, was doomed to failure because the balance it hoped to establish defied every rule of political history. The recent government victory on a vote of confidence has given me no reason to modify this judgment. Unless a profound change is made in methods of production, in wage-and-price policy, in agrarian policy, and in the tactics adopted to fight inflation and the black market, French economy will continue to move in a vicious circle. Such a change, requiring sacrifice, hard work, and iron discipline, cannot be realized without the active participation of the entire working class, which includes the Communists. The Third Force has consistently rejected this aid. Thus, whether Queuille or another tries his hand, the success of the undertaking will be limited from the start by the contradictions of centrist ideology. It is on these contradictions that the "man of June 18" is pinning his hopes.

* M. Queuille Tries His Hand. *The Nation* for September 25, 1948.

De Gaulle himself has done little in the past year to make his candidacy attractive to the French people; arrogance, aloofness, exaggerated *amour propre* are not qualities which make a popular leader. As if completely unaware that two earlier champions of personal power, General Boulanger and Louis Napoleon, found it expedient to base their coups on a left platform, De Gaulle has taken a more and more conservative position. The little radical touches supplied by André Malraux in his lyrical outbursts against the egotism of the rich, or the sharper diatribes in a more political vein from Jacques Soustelle, have not altered the essentially reactionary pronouncements of their leader. He refuses to make a single concession to the left fringe of his movement.

Apparently De Gaulle believes a marriage of convenience with right-wing Socialists and conservative elements of the Radical Party would serve only the interests of the present bankrupt regime. In this he is not altogether mistaken. Despite vehement denials, and no doubt contrary to the aims of its founders, the Third Force, by intensifying the divisions on the left, is working in his favor. Why, then, should the General abandon an intransigence which he, like most military men, regards as the real source of his strength?

Moreover, De Gaulle has seized on the Anglo-American decision on the Ruhr to advocate a strong French position vis-à-vis Germany. This brings him into direct conflict with the present ministers, who, he charges, have failed to defend French interests. Here, too, events are working for him. The conference last week between

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Secretary Marshall and President Truman neither clarified the German situation nor calmed French fears. The proposal that France participate on an equal footing in the Ruhr control commissions for coal and steel was considered a friendly but meaningless gesture; such participation was already implicit in the London accord on the fusion of the French zone with Bizonia. Experienced French observers are asking, not without reason, how long the proposed control commissions will survive after a German government has been installed. The man in the street takes a simpler view of the matter: just as in 1938 he used the name of Chamberlain as a synonym for appeasement, so today he links the name of General Clay with the policy of "protecting the Boche." As long as Clay is the supreme authority in the Western zones, he believes the interests of Germany will get first consideration. De Gaulle has astutely turned this argument to his own advantage by suggesting that since American foreign policy is made by generals, French policy should also be intrusted to a general, who will show more backbone than civilians like Queuille and Schuman.

That De Gaulle, by concentrating his fire on the problem of Germany, has hit on the issue now preoccupying all Frenchmen was again proved in the debate on the Ruhr in the National Assembly. There was something pathetic in this discussion, which ended yesterday in a vote rejecting the Anglo-American policy of rearming Germany. All condemnation of that policy seemed completely futile. France has been confronted with a *fait accompli*. Its views on the Ruhr as expressed in the French memorandum have been politely but stubbornly rejected by its partners in the Western bloc. With that self-confidence which characterizes its whole policy in Europe, the United States, backed by a Britain again infected with the pro-German feeling that permitted the rebirth of German militarism between the two world wars, has proceeded to restore the big German manufacturers to their posts of command. Foreign Minister Robert Schuman tried to calm the uneasiness of the Assembly by denying that German recovery had been given priority over that of the rest of Europe and by assuring the deputies that the final settlement of the Ruhr question would be the subject of new negotiations.

I remember seeing M. Schuman in the spring of 1927, when he was Minister of Finance, at the house of one of his Cabinet colleagues. Sitting near us at lunch was a member of the staff of the American embassy in Paris. The conversation turned to Germany, and I had a very hot argument with the American. M. Schuman congratulated me on my impromptu harangue. Listening to him yesterday, I knew what an effort he had had to make to sound convincing. In submitting to the dictates of Britain and America on Germany and then publicly, in some degree, defending that policy, the French government has afforded De Gaulle an opportunity to intensify his criticism. Already one of his more effective spokesmen, René Pleven, has coined the phrase, "Waterloo, 1948."

In the light of these developments Queuille's recent parliamentary success offers small guaranty against the continued advance of the Gaullist forces. The final vote on the question of confidence—351 to 215—gave the government a larger majority than preceding Cabinets had been able to muster, but its importance should not be overestimated. On the very afternoon of the vote the Palais Bourbon was buzzing with rumors of an impending crisis, and at one moment there were whispers that the Premier was about to resign. Many deputies voted for the government with obvious reluctance simply to mark their opposition to the Communists.

The Socialists and the M. R. P., the two main parties of the government coalition, met just before the Assembly debate on the current strike situation. Although both groups decided against any action that might cause a new political crisis, their lukewarm statements of support for the government hold out little hope for a stable majority in the coming months. The critical problems before the country remain unsolved. Smarting from its rout in the elections to the Council of the Republic, the M. R. P. is inclined to attribute its loss of popularity to its acceptance of posts in a weak, timid Cabinet and is now demanding a vigorous program to bring prices into line with salaries. Robert Lecour, an influential M. R. P. leader and a former minister, has launched the slogan, "Il faut gouverner contre la misère." This stand of an avowed Catholic party may help to convince Americans that even without the Cominform and the Communist assault on the Marshall Plan, the growing discontent of workers here would inevitably come to a head.

But it is one thing to talk about the government's preventing misery and another to translate the words into action. Action requires a solid coalition that will waste no time flirting with De Gaulle and passing resolutions and laws against the Communists—a coalition prepared to cut out ruthlessly the abscess of speculation, corruption, and special privilege now draining its poison into the French economy.

The Socialists are no less dissatisfied than the M. R. P., even though they fared better in the Council elections. Some Socialists regard the back-to-work order given the miners by the C. G. T. last Saturday as a victory for their ministers. But whether led by the Cominform or not, whether the timing of the strike was good or bad, the French miners are workers—and it is strange to hear Socialists boast of their success as strike-breakers.

However, one paradox after another marks French politics these days. Take, for example, the speech delivered in Angoulème last Sunday by Gabriel Cudenet. Americans have probably never heard of him, and even Frenchmen might be hard put to identify him. Yet M. Cudenet is now president of the Rassemblement des

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Gauches Républicaines and was instrumental in rallying votes for the Cabinet last week. For years he has campaigned on the slogan made famous by the great Radical leader Camille Pelletan—"Pas d'ennemis à gauche!" (No enemies on our left!). But at Angoulème, for the first time in his career, Cudenet changed his tune: "Once we were threatened by an aggressive right. Today the danger is no longer on the right but on the extreme left. I don't recognize two fronts. For me there is only one—the Muscovite front!" Obviously it will not take much to make the Rassemblement des Gauches slide from there into the Gaullist camp, leaving the Socialists to wage their double offensive against left and right with decreasing ardor and hope.

[*This is the first part of a two-part article on De Gaulle's chances. It will be concluded in next week's issue.*]

Afterthoughts on the Election

BY THOMAS SANCTON

I. Will the New Deal Revive?

Washington, December 2

WHILE President Truman has made no major appointments or statements of policy since his election, accumulating secondary developments show very clearly that what the nation got by voting him back into office is not a resurrection of the pre-war New Deal—as many have hoped and others have feared—but a continuance of the Truman Administration, the cold war, and coalition government.

The President's campaign speeches were based on New Deal ideas that originated in a long-past national experience. In consequence we have in this post-election period one of the most confused and anomalous situations in American history. So many political and economic factors and so many psychological elements in the outlook of individuals have been changed by the war and subsequent developments and by recent great technological advances that the second Truman Administration can hardly be expected to be other than a travesty—or at best an inconsistent and compromised imitation—of the Roosevelt New Deal.

We must now put aside the heady optimism and excitement of the election "miracle" and recognize the obvious fact that President Roosevelt himself, eight years ago, put an end to the New Deal, closing the books on that period of fundamental reform and reorganization of the political economy. The war-time coalition which succeeded it continues. Despite the personal sincerity and fervor of Mr. Truman's campaign attacks on Wall Street and the "bunch of reactionaries" who supported his opponent, the fact remains that he inherited from Roosevelt an essentially reactionary government which he strengthened in the following years. Individuals like James V. Forrestal may now fade from prominence, but such changes will be made for personal or political reasons and not as matters of changing principles. The Forrestal type is still ascendant in Washington, and most of the leading candidates for high posts are bankers, corporation lawyers, or big men in industry. It is apparent, moreover, from statements by Senator McGrath and other party strategists, that the Southern Congressional leaders who constituted one of the most reactionary elements of the old coalition and who condoned or even aided the Dixiecrat revolt will retain their strategic places and their influence in the new Administration.

Full responsibility for this situation cannot be laid on a limited and politically derivative figure like Mr. Truman. The candidacy and campaign accusations of Henry Wallace offered the American electorate an opportunity to do so, but the people gave the President, instead, a vote of confidence and assumed—inescapably—group responsibility with him for his coalition government.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that a profound change in the entire American outlook has taken place since the first New Deal Administration. For the most part this is the result of a decade of upheaval and the massive drift of world affairs—the perilous prospect of a collision between two political systems, the American and the Russian. But while acknowledging that this external peril is the chief factor in it, one is nevertheless bewildered by the astounding metamorphosis that has taken place in American political thinking in the past sixteen years.

IN 1932 the great majority of Americans, including a large part of the business community, were politically and spiritually at war with high finance and every institution, such as "Wall Street," which symbolized it. Today most of these same Americans, even the labor organizations, are in the same fashion at war with Russian communism and have entered into whole-hearted alliance with the dominant financial interests which were once the political enemy. This alliance inevitably imposes grave limits on liberal programs in the new Congress. It is the old difficulty about eating your cake and having it, too; and the liberal and labor groups and the millions of nostalgic New Deal sympathizers who voted for and actively support the principle of coalition government and the cold war must accept the fact that they have

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thereby set great obstacles in the path of economic planning, price reform, civil rights, and other progressive legislation.

During the early 1930's, as most Americans can remember, we thought of ourselves as a disillusioned and confused people. But the years between 1932 and 1936 can now be recognized as one of the least confused periods of recent history; for many it was a time of actual spiritual renewal. The nation had sustained and survived the economic crash and the early depression. Common need and hardship had obliterated temporarily some of the regional and economic divisions in the electorate, and public opinion was ready for fundamental reforms. And because most people had suffered in the collapse of the old laissez faire economy, they felt free of any gnawing sense of responsibility for what had happened, and free of fear that the future might bring something even worse.

Drawing by Wrigley

It was a time for daring leadership, and President Roosevelt rose to the historic opportunity. Every major act of the new Administration was consistent with its enunciated principles. Cabinet posts and policy-making authority were assigned to men of dynamic liberal outlook, and the occasional conservatives who were deputized knew better than to function as anything but New Dealers. Foreign policy was formed within the domestic framework and did not dominate as it does today.

Though the various Socialist and Communist fragments were split by doctrinaire differences of long standing, the vast majority of liberals and New Deal supporters in general were too naive and hopeful to be critical about their political alliances. They poured their full energies into the pursuit of liberal aims, untouched by questions of whether these goals were consistent with the country's foreign policy. The mood of the times was profoundly pacifist. Military influence in government was strongly resisted. R. O. T. C. programs were attacked by student bodies in land-grant colleges. International bankers and blue-chip monopolists, instead of holding high policy-making posts as they do today, were sweating it out in hearings across the table from the tough legal staffs of the Pecora, Nye, Black, and La Follette investigating committees.

Today this New Deal panorama has vanished in all essentials. Generals in and out of uniform have become our leading diplomats, and bankers our military leaders. The center of government has shifted from Capitol Hill to the Pentagon. Almost every aspect of our domestic political life has become a reflection of our military involvement. Men who were prominent in the New Deal are advocating alliances with fascist governments. The two great labor organizations—one of which depended heavily on the Communists' organizational skill during the period of its most vigorous growth — have turned a large measure of their energies into the anti-Communist struggle. And out of the American Communist Party itself has straggled an amazing group of apostates whose religious conversions and fervent indorsements of nineteenth-century economic theories attest in spectacular human terms to the widespread collapse of political creeds and personal frames of reference.

President Truman returns to office in times not unlike those just before the Civil War, when many men on both sides of the slavery issue were trying to reconcile their confusion with the crushing responsibilities of leadership. Their intellectual device to escape responsibility was to look upon the coming war as an "irrepressible conflict." In economic and moral terms, which were the terms in which they debated, it was actually one of history's most unnecessary and meaningless tragedies. But in the sense that it represented the focused anguish of men caught in an economic and emotional crisis too vast and too complex for the grasp of the individual intellect, it was indeed irrepressible.

At the rump convention of the Democratic Party in Charleston in 1860, Alexander Stephens of Georgia exclaimed in righteous indignation: "Men will be cutting one another's throats in a little while. In twelve months we shall be in a war, the bloodiest in history. There are not virtue and patriotism and sense enough left in the country to avoid it." Yet even with this insight into the approaching tragedy, Stephens drifted with the other leaders of his day and, when war came, stood at the forefront of the principal war-making party as vice-president of the Confederacy. This same drift of leadership toward a showdown and a relief from uncertainties is undoubtedly taking place throughout the world today.

As a people we are fearfully aware of the inconsistency between the noble goals of the Marxist philosophy —life, peace, justice, and human solidarity—and the malignant political methods of communism and its distorting effect upon its all too human agents. But it is harder for us to see how this conflict of systems, sover-

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eignties, and national interests is distorting our own doctrines and ideals. That this process of distortion is a powerful dynamic in American life today is incontestably demonstrated by the contrast of today's "New Deal" with yesterday's.

Perhaps in some distant future the ultimate analysis of what is happening today in both the United States and Russia will be based, not on the assertions of bankers, generals, and "bi-partisan" politicians in Washington or on Moscow's high-level dialectics, but on some of the findings of anthropological and psychological science discussed recently at the International Congress of Psychiatrists in London. The consensus of that meeting was that wars in general, imperialist or Marxist, are the result of man's unconscious but profound detestation of the complex life he has built in the 8,000 years since his first Neolithic steps in agriculture and metal-working.

[*To be continued in an early issue*].

Catholics and Socialists in Europe

I. THE ROME-LONDON AXIS

BY G. L. ARNOLD

London, November 24

THE Manchester *Guardian* last month carried the text of an open letter addressed to General Marshall by Señor de Madariaga, doyen of the Spanish liberals *in partibus infidelium* and a personage well liked by the British Foreign Office. The burden of his advice to the American Secretary of State was summed up in the phrase: "Spain is the test case for the West, as Japan was the test case for the League." Farther on we read: "If you . . . lead a crusade against a totalitarian East from a West the most strategic territory of which is ruled by a totalitarian state, the hearts of the workers and soldiers of the West will remain empty and cold." Non-Spaniards may question whether Spain is as "strategic" as Madariaga—and the United States chiefs of staff—seem to believe, but the political argument is sound. One gathers that the British and French governments agree with Madariaga and have made this fact known in Washington.

It remains doubtful, however, how far London and Paris are in fact prepared to go. The two biggest hurdles to real action against Franco are uncertainty over American intentions and the fear that a Gaullist regime in France may reverse the current trend. It remains to be seen what Mr. Truman and General Marshall have in mind for Spain. De Gaulle is a more present threat, since his intentions are no great secret and his prospects look better today than they have done for months. De Gaulle, if allowed to take over, will make a pact with Franco as surely as he will try to draw Italy into a Latin bloc controlled by himself. If that happens, the "third force" will experience its severest test, for its functioning so far has rested upon cooperation between Socialists and Catholics within the democratic framework. In principle this might go on even with De Gaulle in the saddle, at any rate in France itself, provided there was no outbreak of civil war. A great deal would depend on how he came to power. If it could be done constitutionally, there would be a faint chance that the Socialists would either cooperate—some of their leaders have long been kindly disposed toward the General—or form the main constitutional opposition within a reformed parliamentary regime. If De Gaulle appeals to force—there are the usual rumors that he may raise the standard of revolt in North Africa—the "third force" will die together with the Republic.

Pending a decision on this crucial issue one can only go on hoping that the French will somehow preserve their democracy, with or without De Gaulle. France, after all, is a more modern country than Spain, and the Gaullists themselves realize that they cannot govern against the entire working class and the democratic wing of Catholicism. Nor have they any such intentions, though they may be pushed farther by events than they desire to go. Their present excuse is the failure of the Socialist-M. R. P. coalition to provide a stable government. When this charge has been admitted, it still remains a fact that Socialists and Catholics have been working together in the Fourth Republic for the first time in French history.

THOSE who believe in the necessity of a "third force" for Western Europe are greatly concerned with how to construct some sort of political platform on which democratic Socialists and democratic Catholics can jointly take their stands. This concern is peculiar to Western Europe,

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since east of the "iron curtain" there is no democracy in the accepted sense of the term. If there were, it is doubtful how far the Roman Catholic church would avail itself of the normal means of parliamentary government. Poland and Hungary are rather like Spain in that Catholic parties tend to abandon the parliamentary arena at the first sign of a man on horseback willing to lead a crusade against Marxist infidels. The problem is complex, since it can be claimed that Catholic authoritarianism in these countries finds its counterpart in Marxist revolutionism. The truth probably is that neither side is genuinely willing to play the game according to democratic rules. In France the issue was revived under Pétain, and it is only since 1945 that strong Christian Democratic parties have emerged either there or in Italy. In Belgium and Holland, on the contrary, where democracy is taken for granted, there has been less difficulty about Socialist-Catholic cooperation, at any rate since the war.

So generalizations are of little help. Certainly, those propagandists who claim that Marxism—or Thomism—is an unsurmountable obstacle to such cooperation must be hard put to explain how it comes that "red-black" coalitions are burgeoning all over Europe. Political practice, not for the first time, has outrun political doctrine, and while politicians are cheerfully cooperating, theorists continue to view one another with profound distrust. A reactionary journal like the London *Tablet*, which during the war earned the dislike of French Catholic Resistance leaders for its support of Vichy, reciprocates the hostility of the more hide-bound French anti-clericals by devoting its editorial space to strident blasts against Social Democracy. Meanwhile, the caravan continues on its way, even in Italy, where De Gasperi is careful to allot some influence to the Saragat-Lombardo wing of socialism. As for Austria, both the Heimwehr spirit and Austro-Marxism have died with their respective protagonists, who in 1934 fought a brief but bloody civil war in the streets of Vienna. There is today not a single *industrial* country in Western Europe where it could happen again.

MENTION of Italy, on the other hand, immediately suggests a partial explanation of the present split in European socialism. The issue came to the fore at the international Socialist conference in Vienna last June, at which two different sets of Italian Socialists clamored for admission. It can be stated simply by saying that even those Socialists who followed Saragat and Lombardo into the coalition government are by no means sure that they may not have to terminate cooperation with De Gasperi, and reunite with the Nenni rump, at some time during the next year or so; not, however, in order to work with the Communists but rather to force their way back into the government after having shown De Gasperi that he cannot carry on without them. And the reason is obvious: for all De Gasperi's evident intention to govern with their help, the job of revolutionizing Italy's backward farming areas, especially in the south, may well be beyond him.

In short, it is once more the agrarian problem—nonexistent in Belgium and Holland—that makes cooperation difficult. If the Christian Democrats allow themselves to be taken over by the landowners and their hangers-on, no amount of good-will on the part of either De Gasperi or Saragat will prevent a break. Modern Italy stands and falls—and therefore the Socialist Party stands and falls—with the modernization of Italian agriculture, which in the circumstances means not only more water and better roads but a decisive shift in the present relationship between landowners and share-croppers over large areas of the country. The Socialists—apart from the Nenni rump—are determined that this problem shall be solved democratically, but they cannot be sure that De Gasperi will carry his party with him on this issue; just as they cannot be sure that their strongest man, Lombardo, will be given authority to introduce some measure of planning into Italian industry. Unless they get their way on both counts, Italy may have to make do for a while with a Catholic-liberal coalition devoted to credit deflation, wage cutting, and ineffective sops to the peasants. But even in this case the Socialists will fight for greater influence within the democratic system, not for its violent overthrow. On this issue their minds are made up, and since the lesson of Czechoslovakia their influence has been growing among those workers who still support Nenni.

THE problem, then, is to make the "third force" a reality in countries where Catholic influence in politics has hitherto rested upon the control exercised by landlords and middlemen over peasants and share-croppers, who are now demanding a new deal. Socialists and Catholics can take turns in western Germany or Austria, because Germany and Austria have solved this particular problem. They can share power in Belgium and Holland, because in both countries the Catholic party is largely dependent on its trade-union wing, and because industrial workers, whatever their religious creed, cleave to democratic processes automatically. Hence the ease with which the recurrent difference over state control of primary education was overcome in Belgium, despite the temporary fall of the Spaak government last spring. Hence the similar reconciliation in France last summer, after the Socialists had nearly wrecked the coalition on the nationalization of some schools in mining areas hitherto managed by private bodies. What finally brought the Schuman government down was not this squabble, or even the protracted row over state aid to semi-religious bodies charged with doling out family allowances, but Socialist criticism of the size of the arms

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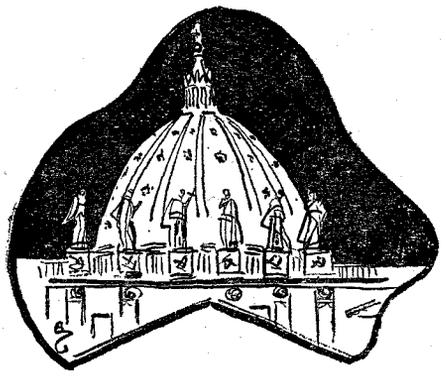

budget — and even then the coalition was speedily reorganized.

The simple fact is that Socialist - Catholic cooperation has become a necessity in Western Europe if parliamentarism is to survive, the once powerful liberal parties having very nearly disappeared. And the real problem is whether the two great parties to the right and left of traditional liberalism have become sufficiently liberalized to be able to cooperate within the parliamentary framework—although that is not how they would put it. Backslidings are still frequent, but the trend is in the right direction. This fact is usually hidden by the virulence of the struggle over control of the public schools, an issue on which genuine agreement is, in fact, impossible, and "live and let live" the only solution if the alliance is not to burst at the seams. But agreement to differ being precisely the condition of cooperation, it is evident that this interminable row—in which, for once, genuine principles are at stake on both sides —can become a powerful means of enabling both parties to work together on all other matters (that is, Western Union, the "development" of tropical Africa, and even economic planning), while continuing to appeal for public support for their respective educational policies.

At the moment this is precisely what is happening, notably in France, where the Socialist Party has recently reemphasized its unshakable attachment to anti-clericalism and state control of education—meaning in practice the denial of financial support to Catholic schools. One can safely predict that while this antagonism continues to fill the public mind and to keep the "party militants" happily occupied, cooperation will be all the easier in the fields of foreign, defense, and colonial policy. This is not cynicism; merely recognition of the obvious. After all, political life would come to a dead stop if all disagreements were to disappear. Fortunately for the survival of political pluralism, the educational issue is by its nature destined to last for as long as Catholics and humanists continue to confront each other in Western Europe—which is likely to be a very long time indeed.

BECAUSE Western Union means union among Catholic and Socialist Democrats in Western Europe—liberal support being taken for granted—it becomes important to discover what differences, apart from the perennial issue of the schools, there are which might cause the alliance to founder. Historically, the church has stood opposed to republican democracy, the only kind of democracy possible in Southwestern Europe, since the monarchy in these parts was tied up with the landed oligarchy. It is one of the oddities of European politics that this problem does not exist in the Protestant countries of the Northwest, while in the Catholic Southwest, including France, Catholicism and royalism have marched hand in hand to the final detriment of both. Yet since 1945 the church has seemingly reconciled itself to the republic in Italy and abandoned its long-standing opposition to the regime in France. In both countries it was the attitude of the Catholic trade unions that finally decided the issue; in other words, the church has modernized its political outlook in conformity with the growth of modern industry and the attendant rise of the labor movement.

There is some evidence that since the Christian Democratic victory in the Italian elections, the Vatican has grown less fearful of the idea of holding elections in Spain. This is, of course, not possible under Franco, and there is nothing to show that he has been abandoned by the Spanish clergy, the most reactionary in the world. It is safe to say that Rome will not take the lead in any movement designed to restore a constitutional regime in Spain, but it is more than probable that if such a lead were taken by others, the hierarchy would hasten to secure the organization of a Christian Democratic Party in Spain, and presumably in Portugal.

The novelty about these post-war Catholic mass movements lies solely in the fact that they are genuinely prepared to play the parliamentary game according to the accepted rules. On the part of the church, this involves an abandonment of the traditional hostility to all non-monarchical regimes. Comically enough, almost all the remaining monarchies are Protestant, which at least suggests that the blessing of Rome is not always a political asset. As has already been remarked, the secret of this Catholic attachment to royalism in large parts of Europe lies in the conditions of land ownership. Where this issue does not obtrude, as in a modern country like Belgium, it is possible for Socialists to put up with the monarchy—though not necessarily with such a king as Leopold of Belgium—and for Catholic conservatives to feel safe under a parliamentary system that, with or without the women's vote, gives them immense influence in the legislature and the government. Again, where as in France the country is becoming so industrialized that the labor vote is assuming decisive importance, the church simply cannot afford to remain hostile to democracy, since no labor organization, however loyally Catholic, will put up with old-style authoritarianism in government. Conversely, the fact that Catholic and Socialist trade unions are equally opposed to totalitarianism makes it possible for the parlia-

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mentary politicians to cooperate against the Communists as well as the extreme right. Hence the "third force," which, so far as France is concerned, is nothing but a reflection of the facts just cited.

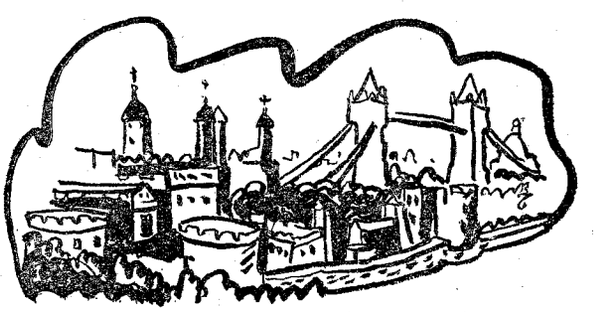
IT IS equally significant that there is no genuine disagreement over "foreign policy"—a polite euphemism for the dreary business of standing up to M. Molotov. German Social Democrats and conservatives detest each other, but both would disappear in concentration camps if the Russians took over. In Austria every trace of the sentimental pro-Sovietism, once so strong among the workers, has disappeared since the people were given an opportunity to study the subject at close quarters. The Socialists expect to win the next election, and to govern without their present coalition partners thereafter, but there can be no return to Austro-Marxism, with its qualified attachment to democracy. All the old sentimental links with the East have been violently broken.

In France and Italy the problem is one of recapturing the bulk of the working class, temporarily lost to the Communists. The process has already started with the Socialist union's successes in northern Italy during the recent election. Whatever its outcome, the fundamental presupposition on which Socialists conduct their affairs in these countries is the certainty that genuine cooperation with the Communists is impossible, but this does not exclude a policy of maneuvering between them and the right. In Northwestern Europe there is no problem at all, since here the Communists are uniformly weak and the Catholics either non-existent as a political force or democratically reliable. Lastly, the fact that most Socialists are now reconciled to the possession of overseas colonies, and many Catholics to economic planning, tends to cement the alliance in countries like France, Belgium, and Holland whose overseas empires are an important adjunct to the Western Union but cannot develop farther without large-scale state aid. On this issue, too, there are no differences which are in principle irreconcilable.

WHY, then, in spite of all these facts, does no one talk of the London-Rome axis around which the whole of Western Europe—North and South, Protestant and Catholic, Socialist and conservative—is now being grouped with the general support of the United States?

The explanation, it would seem, is that although Socialists and Catholics can and do work together on almost every practical issue, at least to the extent of tolerating each other's existence, the only "ideological" link between them is their common attachment to political liberty; and this link, in some of the most important countries, is of very recent creation. How tenuous it was in Spain before and after 1936 needs no stressing. Even in France it took the German occupation and the Vichy government to draw the bulk of Catholic voters away from the right toward the M. R. P.; and the rise of the Gaullist movement has shown the strong attraction that authoritarianism still has for the Catholic middle class. The "axis," in fact, still lacks something like a common political language, though the surviving liberals are doing their best to act as interpreters. Attempts to identify Europeans with party shibboleths continue, the latest being the dispute now raging in the British Labor Party over the question whether it is proper for Socialists to work for a European federation that may turn out to have a non-Socialist majority. But in spite of these hindrances, the antagonists are discovering middle ground. It is not without significance that they are doing so in the measure that they become more firmly attached to the heritage of liberalism. This concentration upon practical essentials has so far outrun the growth of an appropriate ideology that the very term "London-Rome axis" strikes people as artificial. It is nevertheless an accurate, though simplified, description of a very real movement toward the creation of a permanent "third force."

Movements of this sort are less dramatic than the supply of food to Berlin by air. But they represent the reality under the political froth, for if Socialists had not turned their backs on the Kremlin and Catholics on Madrid, it is very unlikely that there would exist French and Italian governments capable of playing their part in the current war of nerves. And without France and Italy, as we have been told countless times, there can be no Western Union. This shows once more that politics is not simply a matter of counting battalions, or even bomber squadrons. It is doubtful how far the political planners in Washington realize that one of the biggest obstacles to the success of Western Union is the continuance of the Franco regime. While it is there, some Catholics will hanker after authoritarianism, and some Socialists after the barricades—and not only in Spain. If the London-Rome axis could be induced to intervene peacefully but effectively against the Spanish dictatorship, in the name of free elections and a Socialist-Catholic coalition under a republican or parliamentary-royalist regime, Western Union would have won a bigger victory than any number of superfortresses stationed in England is likely to secure for it.



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II. AN IRRECONCILABLE CONFLICT

BY GEORGE LA PIANA

MR. ARNOLD makes an able plea for a coalition of democratic Socialist and democratic Catholic parties as the only way to save democracy in Western Europe. Obviously the "Rome" of his London-Rome axis does not mean either the struggling Italian government or the helpless Italian people, but the Roman Catholic church and its ruler the pope, by the grace of which the democratic Catholic parties are allowed to exist and to function. Mr. Arnold's proposal is, then, that the Labor government of Great Britain should beg the Vatican to lend a hand and by making a kind of alliance with socialism become the new "chosen instrument" of British policy for the salvation of Western democracy.

Mr. Arnold is fully aware of the many obstacles barring the way, such as "the authoritarianism of the Catholic church, the unwillingness of both Socialists and Catholics to play the game according to democratic rules, and the tendency of the Catholics to abandon the parliamentary system at the first sight of a man on horseback willing to lead a crusade against Socialist infidels." But he thinks that there is a way out of this blind alley. It is very simple. Democratic Catholics and democratic Socialists should agree to disagree on those points on which their views are not reconcilable; they should adopt the principle "live and let live" and postpone indefinitely the solution of problems on which they can never agree. Meanwhile they should cooperate loyally on all other matters and play the game according to democratic rules.

After all, the questions which separate these two sets of democrats, and in which genuine principles are at stake, are chiefly two—public education and agrarian reforms. Let these problems wait for the time being. Mr. Arnold is so confident that the church "has modernized its political outlook" as to think that the Vatican might even encourage the rise of Christian Democratic parties in Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal if a movement to restore constitutional governments in those countries should appear.

It is true that a coalition of all sound and truly democratic elements in Western Europe is badly needed and that the efforts to shape this "third force" have so far failed. Mr. Arnold's analysis of this problem is very suggestive, and several of his frank remarks about both the democratic parties and the policies of the church are to the point. But his suggestion that this "third force" might be born under the auspices and by the action of the Vatican is, at least for the time being, nothing but a mirage. Mr. Arnold assumes that the Vatican, having modernized its political outlook and having no other choice, will accept terms agreeable to democratic Socialists, postpone the settlement of fundamental questions, and last but not least cooperate in saving democracy. Only an incurable optimist can build a structure on such foundations.

To begin with, we must not forget that socialism is under the ban of the Roman Catholic church. All the popes from Pius VI to Benedict XV condemned it without reservations. Pius XI reiterated the anathema but recognized that there are now Socialist groups which "are moving away from socialism properly so-called" and which "have abandoned class war and no longer attack private property." But even they do not escape condemnation, for they "do not repudiate the basic socialistic idea, merely mitigate it in practice." Their notion of human society is "utterly alien to Christian truth." No Catholic can be a Socialist and no Socialist can be a Catholic. Hence as a matter of principle the church forbids alliances between Catholics and Socialists of any denomination whatever, and as a matter of fact Pius XI in 1924 vetoed a coalition of the Italian Catholic People's Party with the Socialist-Reformist Party against Mussolini.

It is well known, of course, that the Catholic church in its long history has accepted political compromises of all sorts when they brought some advantage or were necessary to avoid greater evils. The doctrines of fascism were condemned by Pius XI as being utterly alien to Christian truth and morals; yet he allowed Italian Catholics to become members of the Fascist Party and even to take the oath of allegiance to Mussolini, though with some mental reservations. Should the political situation in Western Europe reach the point where only an alliance of Catholics with the infidels of democratic socialism could avert a Communist onslaught, it is conceivable that the Vatican would, grudgingly, allow a temporary marriage between the two parties. But if there should be another alternative, such as the appearance of the man on horseback, then the Vatican, according to precedent, would throw overboard all democrats, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, as it threw overboard the democrats of the People's Party to please Mussolini. The present political situation in Western Europe is very promising for the men on horseback. They are in full control in Spain and Portugal. In France Catholics led by the

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clergy are flocking more and more to the banner of De Gaulle. In Italy the Demo-Christian government under the close control of the Vatican is drifting toward authoritarian forms, and a Duce in disguise may appear overnight. Why should the Vatican prefer the heretics of socialism and help them gain an effective share in the governments of those countries? Because, Mr. Arnold says, the church has now modernized its political outlook. Is this true?

THE evidence on which Mr. Arnold relies seems to be that the social program now adopted by the church is "in conformity with the growth of modern industry and the attendant rise of the labor movement." It was many years ago that Leo XIII, having discovered that there was a social question, published his "Rerum novarum," which marked a step forward in Catholic policies, even admitting the right of workers to strike when necessary to obtain just wages. But in fact this encyclical marked no radical change in the political outlook of the church. The social program outlined by Leo XIII and his successors up to the present does not necessarily call for democratic political institutions. It can be applied even better by paternalistic and dictatorial governments. Leo XIII also developed the doctrine that the church is indifferent to the forms of government and is ready to deal with any government which recognizes and respects the freedom, rights, and privileges of the church. But this does not mean the church has changed its attitude toward the postulates of democracy. Freedom of conscience, of speech and press, and of assembly are still abhorrent to the church: unknown to Aquinas and Bellarmin, they are not implied in the notion of democracy held by Catholic theologians. On these points the church still clings to the Syllabus of Pius IX.

After the First World War Benedict XV, believing that democracy had come to stay at least for a while, allowed the organization of Catholic democratic parties in several countries. The result was so disappointing to the Vatican that Benedict lost all faith in their usefulness, and Pius XI willingly helped the dictators to get rid of them. In matters of labor policy the Vatican regards with disfavor mixed labor unions of Catholics and non-Catholics. Wherever possible it prefers separate Catholic unions. In Italy the Demo-Christian party recently withdrew from the General Confederation of Labor and is organizing its own unions, as the Catholic People's Party did in pre-Fascist times. This policy alone would seem to dim the prospect of a London-Rome axis. But the fundamental reason why the Vatican cannot change its political outlook is that the Roman Catholic church is by definition and by its own admission a totalitarian institution and as such cannot genuinely adapt itself to modern democracy. Either it must limit its own totalitarianism, a thing which it cannot do beyond a certain point, or it must strive by all means to impose drastic limitations upon democratic freedom.

Suppose, for reasons of its own, the Vatican should favor a London-Rome axis, what price would it ask for this concession? A glance at the Concordats made by Pius XI, mostly with dictatorial governments, shows how firm the Pope was in forcing inclusion of undemocratic clauses.

General de Gaulle John Reed

The laws of the church concerning marriages of Catholics with non-Catholics afford a good sample of the terms the church imposes when Catholics make alliances with heretics and infidels. Such marriages are forbidden as a matter of principle. But the church readily grants a dispensation on condition that the non-Catholic shall guarantee not only the right of the Catholic partner to practice the Catholic religion but also that all children born of such a marriage shall be brought up as Catholics. Similarly, in allowing a temporary marriage between democratic Catholicism and democratic socialism, the Vatican could not accept less than complete Catholic freedom, which in the language of the church means recognition of its rights, privileges, and exemptions and, above all, the right to an absolute control of religious education and at least a partial control of public education as well. Could Socialists and other progressive democrats accept such terms? If not, no coalition will be possible. If so, they will sign their surrender and the surrender of democracy.

According to Mr. Arnold's plan, the solution of such questions should be postponed indefinitely, although Catholics and Socialists would both be free to propagate their differing views. Such a suggestion appears preposterous to anyone familiar with the Catholic system. To begin with, the gulf that separates democratic Socialists and Catholics is not so shallow as Mr. Arnold thinks. Starting from opposite premises, they cannot but stand for contrary solutions, not only of problems of education and agrarian reform, but of all fundamental religious, moral, social, and political problems. The Vatican could agree to a postponement of such questions only if mean-

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while the control of education and schools were left in the hands of the church, but not vice versa. On a memorable occasion Don Sturzo, then leader of the People's Party, explaining his refusal to collaborate with fascism, said epigrammatically: "Collaboration is possible only when both parties stand up, not when one of them has to kneel before the other." As far as one can foresee, only by kneeling could democratic socialism be part of a London-Rome axis.

One must not be misled by the fact that coalitions of democratic Catholics and Socialists are already in existence in Belgium, Holland, France, and Italy. A glance at those coalitions is enough to dispel the illusion that the church has abandoned its traditional attitude. The Catholic parties of today are torn by a fatal inner conflict. As democratic parties they should enjoy complete autonomy and be free to choose their policies and their methods of action, but as Catholic parties they must follow the instructions of their totalitarian church. The theoretical distinction between religious and secular affairs does not help in practice because there is hardly any important social or political question which does not involve moral or religious principles in which the church claims the exclusive right of decision. The Catholic parties organized after the First World War either disregarded some of the instructions of the ecclesiastical authorities, incurring the displeasure of the Vatican, or drifted helplessly toward authoritarianism. The Vatican has a formidable weapon to keep them in line. It can at any time bid the clergy withdraw their support, and without this support any Catholic party is doomed. This drastic measure can be easily applied when the Vatican has other means of protecting its interests, as when Pius XI withdrew the support of the Italian clergy from the Catholic People's Party and made his deal with Mussolini.

Courtesy *l'Humanité*
Paul Henri Spaak
Socialist Premier of Belgium

IN BELGIUM a democratic Catholic party has long existed and more than once has stood firm in defense of its political autonomy. Its alliance with democratic Socialists goes back to pre-war times. It has been a rather stormy adventure, but the coalition has survived because in Belgium, a highly industrialized country with large masses of workers, Catholics and democratic Socialists know well that if they do not hang together they are done for.

In Holland, a country with a Protestant majority and a long tradition of hostility to Catholicism, the opportunity offered to Catholic democrats to share the government, *no matter in what company*, was too good to let pass. They are now striving with some success to lift their church from a position of equality with other religious groups to a position of special privilege.

In France the Catholics of the Popular Republican Movement and the Socialists have joined forces in a succession of short-lived coalition cabinets. They do not trust each other, and their spasmodic attempts at cooperation are soon followed by new conflicts and government crises. De Gaulle is biding his time, sure of the support of the Vatican, which has never fared well with the French republican regimes since the French Revolution.

In Italy the coalition of Demo-Christians and right-wing Socialists is not a serious affair. The Demo-Christians are in full control; they have the majority in the Parliament, and they have the support of all conservative groups, including the monarchists and the neo-Fascists, who are increasing in strength unchecked by the government. De Gasperi can dismiss the two Socialists now holding minor positions in his Cabinet without risking any government crisis. Coalitions of this kind, in which democratic Socialists have no other function but that of holding the bag, would certainly be welcome to the Vatican. It seems evident that the Demo-Christian Vatican strategists offered the democratic Socialists the crumbs falling from the table only for the purpose of increasing the confusion and the division in the ranks of the Socialist Party and the other democratic progressive forces. In this they were successful even beyond their expectation.

Fear of communism has been and is one of the mainsprings of Vatican policy. But this fear is not so great as to drive the Vatican into a union through which socialism would gain prestige and strength; the popes have stated again and again that communism and socialism are both the legitimate offspring of modern democracy. Nor does the fact that a London-Rome axis would enhance the prestige of the Labor government in England, where Catholics are a small minority and there is no Catholic party, have any weight in Vatican circles. The Vatican has now something much better to rely upon—the *Washington*-Rome axis which has been at work ever since the war, though few speak of it. Unconditional American support has made it possible for the Vatican to impose a heavy mortgage on Italian political life and to retain its control against a disorganized democracy, a divided and demoralized socialism and a regimented communism which is repellent to most Italians. As for resisting the expansionist pressure of Moscow, the Vatican, like everybody else in Western Europe, pins its hopes on American military and economic power.

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The Crisis in Higher Education

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

NOT long ago an unusually brilliant young man whose achievements had made him a national figure overnight was awarded an associate professorship at Harvard University. His good fortune excited admiring comment from all sides. Presumably he would now be free to add greatly to the store of human knowledge within his chosen field. A long, untroubled, and productive career seemed assured. There was only one thing wrong with this picture. The pay of an associate professor in the nation's leading university is less than the average income of a New England fisherman.

An instructor in an ordinary American college enjoys an income approximating that of a dish washer or day laborer. An assistant professor makes about as much money as a truck driver. And many a full professor in a large university receives less than a mason or carpenter.

Few persons realize the gravity of the financial crisis now threatening higher education. If Harvard with its great wealth and prestige fails to pay its faculty adequately, what can be expected of smaller institutions? The normal schools, junior colleges, small liberal-arts colleges, second-class universities, and teachers' colleges that dot the country enrol together many more students than the great universities. With their lower salary scales, how can they be expected to attract and hold faculties capable of imparting real higher education?

Though college teaching has never been even moderately well paid in comparison with other specialized occupations, its rewards have become still smaller since World War II. During the 1930's salaries did at least permit an existence which varied from genteel poverty to comfort. War and subsequent inflation have destroyed the narrow margin between genteel and ugly poverty. According to a report of the Central Association of Colleges and Universities released in May, 1948, the salaries of college professors have increased 36.7 per cent since 1940—a figure which in terms of real wages has meant a cut of some 25 per cent. Professors' salaries have risen less than half as much as living costs, one-third as much as the general wage level, and about one-fifth as much as the nation's per capital income.

The resulting distress on the campuses was revealed recently by a survey undertaken at Rutgers by the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors. Detailed questionnaires were sent to each member of the faculty. From the high percentage of replies received it was learned that 65 per cent of the faculty found it impossible to live on their pay—living costs exceeded salaries by $708 on an average; 17 per cent were barely solvent; 18 per cent were able to save a little money. Forty-six per cent of the faculty had been obliged to draw on savings, the average withdrawal being $536, and 24 per cent had borrowed. Of 40 per cent who had met their financial problems by taking on outside work, two-thirds reported that such outside activity lessened their usefulness to Rutgers. In 38 per cent of the cases some income was derived from property; in 19 per cent wives earned additional money and relatives helped clothe the children. Many reported that both savings and borrowing capacity were exhausted, and that they would have to look for employment elsewhere.

The report then went on to reveal the salaries that had caused such acute economic distress. In 1939-40 the average pay had been $3,307. In 1947-48 it was $3,800, an increase one-fifth as great as the increase in living costs during the same period. Inasmuch as the 1947 New Jersey income per consumer unit was $5,200, the highly trained professors in the state university were on a lower economic level than the average citizen. Moreover, the Rutgers salary scale, $2,400 to $6,000, while above a national average which includes small colleges in regions with lower living costs, is below that of most of the country's higher-ranking universities. In 1947-48 the average salary in 233 colleges and universities was $4,600 for professors, $3,866 for associate professors, $3,344 for assistant professors, and $2,723 for instructors.

The most important effect of the college teacher's inferior economic position has been a decline in the quality of faculties. When positions are to be filled, the choice of candidates is far smaller than it was a decade ago. The larger institutions have to some extent disguised their growing poverty by hiring new faculty members in the lowest-paid rank, that of instructor. Holders of Ph.D.'s are becoming difficult to get, and many colleges are taking on persons whose qualifications would not have been seriously considered by a first-class high school a few years ago. Aggressive and well-qualified young men are leaving college teaching in a steady stream to engage in other lines of work. Short of both funds and staff, the colleges are greatly overloading teaching schedules, which reduces both the efficiency of the instruction and the attention that can be given to the individual student.

Princeton last year recognized the primary importance of a good faculty and authorized salary increases even

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though the funds for them were not immediately available. The universities of California and Washington and the New York City colleges have granted increases about equaling the rise in living costs. Some institutions, however, have treated salaries as a secondary problem to be solved after other matters are taken care of.

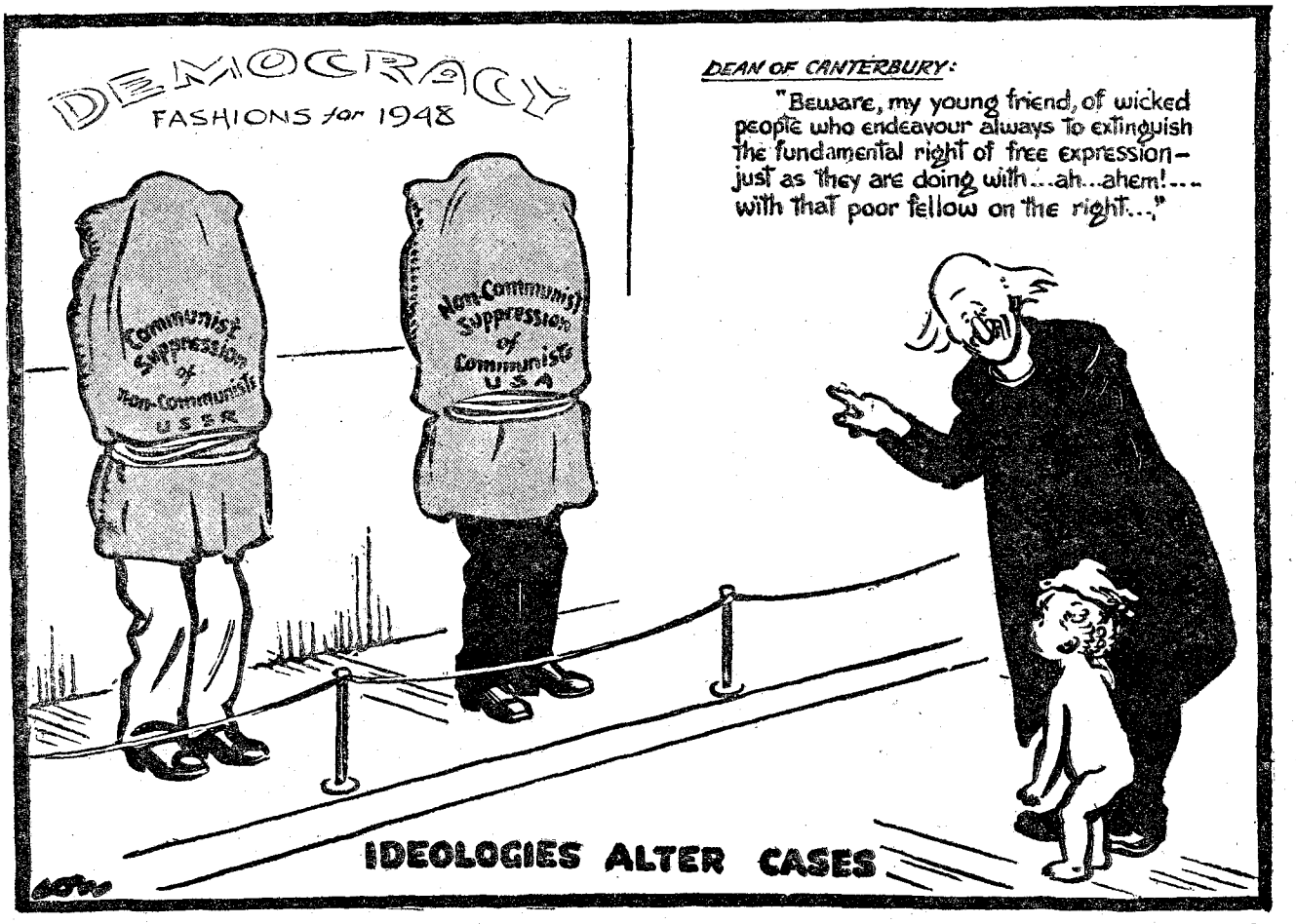
To saddle administrators with the entire blame for the situation I have described would be unfair. Faculties must share the responsibility. On the whole, the college teaching profession has not sold its achievements to the general public. The contributions of universities in fields as far apart as literature and atomic physics are accepted with little realization of their source or importance. In the estimation of alumni, faculties are frequently rated a poor third to athletic teams and campus buildings.

The traditional character of the college professor, his absorption in quiet, studious pursuits, has prevented him from actively promoting his own interests. Only very recently and under the pressure of extreme financial stringency has he reluctantly come to employ some of the methods long used by organized labor. Labor unions are now beginning to make headway among college teachers, and the American Association of University Professors has set up minimum salary scales and is urging a campaign for their realization.

Unfortunately there are definite limitations to what group action by faculties can be expected to accomplish. Collective pressure may force the spending of a greater proportion of available funds for salaries and may bring about more respectful attention to faculty wishes. Systematic efforts to present the situation to state legislatures would probably aid teachers in state-supported institutions. But these steps are only partial answers to the problem. With expenses mounting and income only slightly above pre-war levels, the necessary funds to support adequately the nation's colleges are simply not to be found in present sources of revenue. Put baldly, the financial problem of higher education is that of finding additional sources of support or ceasing to be *higher* education, as the term has long been understood in the United States.

An obvious new source is the federal government. Probably there is no modern nation whose central government has paid less attention to education than the United States. In fact, this is the only large country which does not have an official of Cabinet rank for educational matters. The federal government might well grant a subsidy based on enrolment to institutions with acceptable standards as to faculty and curriculum.

No measures taken to solve the critical problems of higher education will bear fruit at once. The caliber of faculties has declined too far. But raising salaries from 50 to 100 per cent above present levels should halt the disastrous drain of ability from college classrooms, shorten our educational Dark Age, and hasten the day when truly higher education can be offered by institutions throughout the United States.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BOOKS and the ARTS

Food and Population

FUTURE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE POLICY. A Program for the Next Ten Years. By John Donald Black and Maxine Enlow Kiefer. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.50.

MANY millions of people are unable to get enough food because not enough is produced, and we are warned by experts on conservation that soil impoverishment and erosion are proceeding at such a pace that it may be increasingly impossible to sustain a rapidly growing world population. The predictions of Malthus, recently questioned, may come true after all. At the same time American farmers, raising more food and selling it at higher prices than ever before, are worried lest they suffer from another post-war slump like that which bankrupted thousands of them after 1920—a deflation due to decline of market demand. Thus what is perhaps the greatest world problem next to the maintenance of peace—a food deficit—is joined paradoxically with a threatened food "surplus" at home.

The authors of this book should be able to give us the key to the puzzle if anyone can. Professor Black of Harvard has been for many years a leading agricultural economist; he was a pioneer in the farm-relief programs that eventually came to fruition under the New Deal. His collaborator is with the International Emergency Food Committee of the Food and Agriculture Organization. They had the aid of three expert committees appointed by the National Planning Association, the American Farm Economic Association, and the National Research Council. The volume is technical, but its conclusions are of interest to all of us, and it may be consulted for a long time as a guide to policy.

If all the food of the world were in one pool, and all the people shared equally in it, the pessimists would be right. Even by clearing and developing all the available new land and farming everywhere according to modern practices the world could not produce the essentials of an adequate diet in meat after 1960, in milk after 1970, or in fruits and vegetables after 1980—assuming the expected increase in population. A shift to a cereal diet would not postpone the shortage more than seventy-five years. The only solution would be an unlikely end to population growth—or universal under-nutrition.

Yet in more than half the countries of the world, containing at least 40 per cent of the people, the situation has been improving and may continue to do so. In these countries the population is in fairly good ratio to their resources. In one country after another the output per worker increases, population growth slows down, and diets become better with an increase in purchasing power. This happens when industrialization takes hold. The United States, which has the highest technical development, has also an abundance of food, though even here some are still inadequately nourished. The danger in some of these countries is, indeed, that population may decline to a point where it does not have an optimum relation to resources. But in countries like India and China the way out lies in speeding the technological revolution and curbing the birth rate. In some of the food-deficit areas the resources are not sufficient for a high degree of industrialization, and restriction of population is the only hope. The world food problem cannot be solved easily or quickly, but for at least a large part of the human race it is far from desperate.

Of scarcely less interest is the program proposed for American agriculture. The policy of government-guaranteed prices for particular crops, based on individual production quotas —which Mr. Black had a large part in devising—is now abandoned by the authors. They propose that no crops be withheld from the market by government purchase but that all be sold at the market price. But since the farmers need some protection against impoverishment, if only to safeguard the soil and make possible sufficient output, the government should stand ready to subsidize agriculture whenever prices fall too low by reason of "overproduction." The determination of fair prices is a complicated matter for which several possible methods are suggested.

The correct amount of production would be that which the Department of Agriculture estimated was needed, and it would be announced in advance of each planting or breeding season. If production of a particular crop in a particular year exceeded the total quota for that crop, and prices fell below those announced, each grower would be entitled to the difference between the market price and the "fair price" only on that fraction of his sales which correspond to the quota. Thus if the quota for cotton were 12,000,000 bales, and 15,000,000 were sold, each cotton grower would be entitled to the guaranteed price on twelve-fifteenths, or 80 per cent, of his sales. It is obvious that this scheme would not subsidize less efficient regions or farmers at the expense of more efficient ones, and that it would permit shifts of production in response to market demand. If the prices received in the market were equal to or above the guaranteed price, no subsidy would be paid, no matter how large the total production. Even if the market price were below the guaranteed price, the consumer would pay only the market price when he bought his food.

The supplementary payments to farmers would not be made directly in cash. They would be devoted to the improvement of the soil or of farm practices or to readjustments of production for increased efficiency. A great variety of useful expenditures would be possible. But in any case they would be made only when matched by an equal expenditure on the part of the farmer, either in cash or in labor, and only on the basis of approved plans. The same appropriation would also include nutritional aids to consumers—such as free school lunches, stamp plans for surplus crops, supplemental diets for mothers and pre-school children, provisions for meals in factories, and the like. The total expenditures probably would not exceed the agricultural subsidies to which we have become ac-

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customed, and the whole program would tend to reduce agricultural costs and prices in the long run, thus improving nutrition.

The book also contains valuable analyses of the requirements for international trade and the best food policies for other countries to follow, and is full of information and advice of other sorts. Incidentally, it has a few words of encouragement for those who fear that most of our soil is rapidly being washed away into the sea or blown to the clouds. The problem exists, but it has sometimes been exaggerated. Land can come back under good use. "Moderately sloping lands can lose virtually all their topsoils and then acquire new ones, ordinarily in not more than ten or fifteen years." There is, in some regions, irreparable erosion. But for the most part erosion enters the situation, "not as a hunger threat because of vanishing topsoil, but as one of the factors to be contended with." Whether erosion or recovery gets the upper hand at any time or at any place is a matter of relative costs. If good farming is made to pay, we shall keep our soil—and get more of it. GEORGE SOULE

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Portrait of Champlain

CHAMPLAIN: The LIFE OF FORTITUDE. By Morris Bishop. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

CHAMPLAIN largely wrote his own biography in the narratives of his voyages, and, in a sense, his achievements as explorer and cartographer speak for themselves from their pages. Nevertheless, he has needed interpreters; his prose is colorless and loose-strung, his manner lacking in emphasis. Parkman retold incomparably the story of Champlain's explorations and discoveries, but even in Parkman his personality remains a rather shadowy one beside such salient types as Frontenac and La Salle. Morris Bishop has remedied this defect by disengaging with great deftness and literary charm the human figure that Champlain's own lack of self-assertion tends to conceal in his writing. Bishop's "Champlain," like his "Cabeza de Vaca," is a model of such portrait work, from which, without resort to the dubious devices of fictionalization, a living and highly readable "character" of the subject emerges.

The achievement is the more difficult in that Champlain was that not easily dramatizable type of figure, an eminently good man. He was a child of the Renaissance in the appetite for geographical knowledge that made exploration his master passion; in his scientific interest in map-making and the art of navigation; in his pleasure in such civilized amenities as water-color sketching and rose growing. He had the Marlowesque *libido sciendi* and in addition the tougher virtues of the soldier. But he was a child of the Renaissance also in his humanistic ethics—his tolerance (though he was a devout Catholic), his love of moderation and fair play, his preference for agreement rather than contention. As a formative influence in his life Bishop emphasizes particularly his trip to the West Indies, Mexico, and Panama in 1599. This view of the Spanish colonial domain filled him with a vision of empire, but he recoiled from the idea of empire built on such exploitation of the native races as he saw there: one of the sketches in his manuscript account of the voyage is of Indians being burned at the stake by the Inquisition. His natural humaneness was reinforced by a genuine fondness for the Indians—in which Bishop sees a strain of repressed desire for fatherhood, such as led him at forty-three to marry a girl of twelve; he advocated racial intermarriage, and his attitude of friendliness and cooperation became a cornerstone of French colonial policy in North America. Champlain sometimes displayed the defects of his qualities—a certain indecision of character, for instance, a tendency to defer to others when he knew better, as when in 1606 at Poutrincourt's insistence he repeated his coasting of New England instead of striking straight for Cape Cod and claiming perhaps the Connecticut and the Hudson for France. But there was a steadiness of purpose behind his mildness to which New France owed its very life and which in the Indian policy he inaugurated was to leave a lasting imprint on the work he had begun. The portrait, with its fine Renaissance bloom, that emerges from Bishop's hands is of a character molded in the traditions of the enlightenment that two centuries later was to bring forth a Thomas Jefferson on the American continent.

Bishop reconstructs the background of Champlain's activities—the court politics of business enterprise in France the intricacies of Indian diplomacy in America—as deftly and intelligently as he portrays the explorer's character. Among his appendices on controversial points in Champlain's career there is one interesting if too brief critique of the economic thesis as to the origins of those wars brilliantly developed by Professor Hunt in his "The Wars of the Iroquois." HOWARD DOUGHTY

Verse Chronicle

THE atom bomb, of course, is a solemn subject, and anyone who tries of it in verse, however hysterical, is assured of a respectful hearing. Nevertheless, here is a note, dissonant, dissent from the chorus of praise that seems to be going up over Edith Sitwell's "The Song of the Cold" (Vanguard, $2.75). The longer and newer poems in this collection, those near the beginning more so than those toward the end, seem to me prosy, rhetorical, prolix, and shot lacking in music, trite in symbol, bare in vocabulary. Disintegration, or in

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ion, the effect is the same, and unpleas-nt. A great talent for the rococo proves o have been little preparation, or use, vhen the time came for conversion to he cosmic theme, especially when that neme was full of horror; what was nec-ssary was a steadier facing of horror, a onstant use of its symbol and metaphor or aesthetic ends, so that when the eed arose, the epithet, almost uncon-iously and from long practice, could be fted to meet the demands of the occa-on. One cannot doubt the genuine ıality of Miss Sitwell's new emotions, ıt one does remember what Oscar Vilde said about where all bad poetry me from; nor is candidacy for the in-tuation-with-sound-of-own-words de-rtment—*porphyry, almandine, Time's thy dress,* above all *gold* (an adjective, its variant *golden* used by Miss Sit-ell over a hundred times in approxi-ately that number of pages)—entirely sguised by the intimation that this nd of business constitutes variations on theme. Oh, yes, and one other thing: the get-up of this book there is a tle too much quid pro quo for my ste; you inscribe poems to John Leh-ann and C. M. Bowra, and who turns on the jacket with tributes but C. M. owra and John Lehmann? Obviously. it is a strain, and an embarrassment, read the more ambitious efforts in is collection, the reader will neverthe-ss find pleasure, relaxation, delight not nolly nostalgic in, for example, Most ovely Shade and many of the early ngs reprinted from the Duckworth ition of "Bucolic Comedies" and "The eeping Beauty." Nobody wants Miss well to be an old stick-in-the-mud d rest content on those early laurels; ets should be adventurous and try to rpass themselves, but here, this time, seems to me, Miss Sitwell did not ceed.

Harry Roskolenko's "Notes from a urney" (Meanjin Press, Melbourne, ıstralia, $1) express disagreeable elings about nearly everything and erybody. There is nothing against this item, as such; Shakespeare exploited it the full in "Troilus and Cressida," d Cyril Connolly has lately admon-ıed us that of the two ways to be a eat writer, one is never to refuse to e the horror of life. It is dreariness ther than horror that seems to depress r. Roskolenko, who has evolved, for his purposes, mean rhymes—*sin, whim,* for instance—and rather jumpy, rasping cadences in the long lines of his long-ish poems. A little of this goes a great way; it would hardly be worth noticing were it not for the fact that rereading discloses what Mr. Roskolenko might not concede, that his real talent, illus-trated by a phrase here, a verse there, and particularly by the two stanzas called Little Song, is for a controlled, muted, and delicate form of the lyric, and not at all for the irritable transports in which he scathes Karl Shapiro or the editors and contributors of *Partisan Re-view.* It is so difficult, so confusing, for a writer to hear, among all his yelling compulsions, the call of his own best, to follow that call, improve his pursuit, and yet not bog down in the fens of complacent and arrogant stagnation.

Genevieve Taggard, whose death oc-curred last month, was conducting a poetry workshop in San Francisco when I first met her, in 1922. Her eye-open-ing instruction was, to me, both profit-able and stimulating; it convinced me, for keeps, that people are wrong who say that writers can never teach aspirants anything about writing. Few teachers are remembered with gratitude for a quarter of a century; I should like to record here my sense of lifelong indebtedness, for what it may be worth, in homage to her memory.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

"Physics and Politics." By Walter Bagehot. Knopf. $2.75. A reissue of a study of political man and social prog-ress that is as apposite today as when it was written seventy-five years ago. As Jacques Barzun points out in his intro-duction, Bagehot, in his wit and startling common sense, is a forerunner of Samuel Butler and Bernard Shaw.

"Mendeleyev." By Daniel Q. Posin. Whittlesey. $4.50. A biography of the great Russian chemist and physicist told in the lush prose of "Forever Amber." Very fancy but hardly suitable.

"The Trail Led North." Mont Haw-thorne's Story by Martha Ferguson Mc-Keown. Macmillan. $3.50. Life in Alaska during the gold rush described by an old-time prospector. A genuine piece of Americana, with tang and relish.

"Little Annie Oakley and Other Rugged People." By Stewart H. Hol-brook. Macmillan. $3.50. A miscellany of magazine pieces by the author of "Lost Men of American History." There's a little bit of everything, from memories of Boston's Old Howard Theater to stories of Kit Carson, Frank Merriwell, and Calamity Jane.

"Wayfaring Stranger. An Autobiog-raphy." By Burl Ives. Whittlesey. $3.50.

Have You Read The New Testament . . . Intelligently?

IF YOU READ IT, did you ever stop to think of the contradictions, the inconsisten-cies and other difficulties which appear on almost every page of the New Testament? Did you then ask yourself:

• WHY it is that in the entire New Testament, outside of the four gospels, Jesus is never referred to as a teacher or preacher? Why there is no exhorta-tion anywhere urging the Christians to study his teachings or to follow them?

• WHY it is that in the entire New Testament, outside of the gospels, there is not a single quotation of any of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the gospels?

• WHY there is no reference in the entire New Testament, outside of the gospels, to a single one of the many miracles attributed to Jesus in the gospels? Most of the miracles attrib-uted to Jesus were performed in Gali-lee: why is it that not a single church was established in Galilee?

WHO were the Christians? HOW and by whom was Christianity founded and how was it developed? WHAT was the GOAL of the early Christians and how was it altered? WHO WROTE the New Testa-ment and HOW does it tally with undis-puted historical writings of the same period in which the New Testament is purported to have been written?

If you are not afraid of truth and facts; if you are not trained to see things through the eyes of others but are not afraid to see for yourself—NOT AFRAID to look fact and reality straight in the face, then here is a book that you should read and re-read:

WHAT GOAL NOW?

NEW LIGHT ON THE NEW TESTAMENT by George L. Clark, formerly Professor of Law at New York University and now at the University of Kansas City. The text is supplemented by a second section, consist-ing of 62 pages of closely printed small type material, which contains over 500 notes and cross-references, to enable the more deeply interested student to go to the sources and check for himself.

This book was printed ten years ago, but for reasons easily understandable was not published until late 1948.

• FRANK H. SOMMER, Dean of Law School, N. Y. U., who read the book in manu-script, called it a "reinterpretation of the New Testament (which) rediscovers the early Christians, the social order they envisioned and the ethical principles essential to that order. It separates the wheat from the chaff."

• ALBERT J. MURPHY, Educator and former Minister, wrote about the book: "Its sociological point of view does for the New Testament literature what Darwin's theory did for biology."

• Dr. GOODWIN WATSON, Professor of Education, Columbia University, character-ized it as "one of the most provocative and stimulating of this generation. Professor Clark has accomplished a major intellectual achievement, that of restructuring familiar facts, so that a new meaning of far-reaching importance emerges."

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A popular singer of folk songs describes his Southern childhood and early wanderings in the simple style of a high-school composition.

"To Make the People Strong." By Edward Stuntz. Macmillan. $3.50. An optimist reports in breezy journalese on the results of the technical assistance given the countries of Latin America by American experts in health, transportation, agriculture, and education.

"A History of Norway." By Karen Larsen. Published by the Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation. $6. An excellent popular history from the earliest times to 1945. With bibliography and index.

"The Life of Science." By George Sarton. Henry Schuman. $3.50. Essays and addresses by Harvard's historian of science and expounder in this field of the ideals of humanism. With index.

"The Africa of Albert Schweitzer." By Charles R. Joy and Melvin Arnold. Harper and the Beacon Press. $3.75. A "picture and text documentary" showing Dr. Schweitzer's daily life and work at his African hospital.

Gone up in Smoke

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By

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MOSS HART'S "Light up the Sky" (Royal Theater) is a great deal more entertaining than I, for one, expected it to be. The preliminary hoopla—of which there was considerable—centered around its allegedly daring topicality and the promise that it would give so much inside dope on show business that only the initiated would be able to know what it was all about. There were hot tips in the gossip columns to the effect that Billy Rose would—and then that he would not—sue for libel. The public was, by implication, invited to guess whose dirty linen was being washed in this scene or that and promised a generally rip-roaring time. Now topicality is one of the curses which lie heavily upon nearly every branch of contemporary letters, from the magazines full of "profiles" to the novels full of low-downs on the true inwardness of this racket or the other, and the prospect of a super Gridiron Club skit in place of a play was a bit depressing.

One of the reasons why "Light up the Sky" turns out to be genuinely entertaining is, paradoxically, that it does not try to be too funny. It is a farce and at times a rather extravagant one, but it knows, as a good many recent farces have not known, where to stop. Ever since Hart, Kaufman, and others discovered, almost a generation ago, that it was possible to make farce faster and more extravagant than it had ever been before, the tendency has been to try to make a good thing better, although the point at which speed, noise, and improbability began to pay diminishing returns was reached a good while ago. I do not know who discovered the word "fabulous" as a convenient term to be used whenever it became desirable to suggest that wildly improbable triviality was really poetic imagination in its most truly sophisticated form, but the word has done a lot of harm. Nevertheless, in the present play Mr. Hart's "fabulous" actress, his "fabulous" director, and his "fabulous" backer are kept within the generous limits of acceptable farce. I was a little nervous when it developed that the Shriners were having a jamboree in the hotel where the action takes place. That is precisely the sort of noisy irrelevance which has helped ruin a good many recent extravaganzas, but even in this dangerous case Mr. Hart exhibits a refreshing temperance.

The plot turns around an earnest new playwright possibly suggested by Tennessee Williams but not, it would appear, actually modeled on him. His somewhat obscure script is taken up with unrestrained enthusiasm by an all too utter director, by an easily recognizable wonder-boy of the amusement world, and by a "glamorous" actress whose mannerisms strongly resemble those of a very successful star. When the play flops at the Boston try-out they all run for cover, snarling as they go, while the playwright, understandably enough, renounces the profession he had once had some illusions about. Then, instead of falling back on the "Butter-and-Egg Man" or "Once in a Lifetime" conclusion—which, by the way, merely implies that success is as meaningless as failure—Mr. Hart arranges, more probably as well as more significantly, that the critics shall find some promise in the play and that everybody shall get together again to see if rewriting can salvage the possibilities inherent in the author's script. Obviously "Light up the Sky" is intended to say something, and that something seems to be that while show business necessarily involves the antics of maniacal egocentrics who, their temperaments being what they are, can hardly be expected to know when they mean what they say, the fact nevertheless remains that even they function most successfully when they manage occasionally to deviate into sense.

According to the record, "Light up the Sky" itself looked pretty discouraging out of town and was extensively rewritten. What this rewriting involved I do not know, but it is obvious enough that a good deal of the effectiveness of the present production depends upon a group of eight featured performers, each of whom contributes importantly but from among whom one, to my mind, stands out conspicuously. Without running through the whole list it may be remarked that Sam Levene as the backer, Audrey Christie as his extravagant wife, Phyllis Povah

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the star's mother, and Glenn Anders as the director whom the "glamour" of his profession so moves that he is always on the point of tears, all give crisp, effective performances. But Virginia Field, as the posturing star who obviously feels that she is the proper recipient of the necklace once worn by Duse and presented by the director, achieves a maliciously accurate parody of a well-known contemporary stage figure which is both astonishing and delightful. Somehow she has managed to catch even the timbre of the voice, and one could recognize the caricature with one's eyes closed. Miss Field is British born and is listed as having appeared in a number of movies as well as in a few Broadway plays. She has never previously attracted very particularly my attention, but if she can do other things anything like as well as she does her particular job in this play she should have quite a career before her.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE oils section of this year's Whitney Annual (through January 2) has relapsed into its old mediocrity. Apparently the sudden improvement it showed last year is to remain an isolated phenomenon. And now one wonders more than ever what accounted for the improvement. The present exhibition is, if anything, a bit inferior to those of the three or four preceding last year's, and here again one wonders why. However, what does become plain is that the people who chose the artists and pictures for this year's show were guided by hardly any standards and by no notion whatsoever of what constitutes valid contemporary painting. I would conclude that reputation or familiarity was the decisive factor in the choice of most of the exhibitors, and the fifteen or twenty new names that do appear are in their majority worse than the old. I feel sure that the Whitney defends its policy, in its annuals and other shows, by claiming the obligation to cover the field of "modern" American painting as a whole and to avoid sectarian emphases. Yet this is no excuse for incompetence of judgment. The museum could have put together a far better show and still have adhered to the same policy. What I complain about is the lack of taste, discrimination, enterprise, discernment—the lack, that is, of ability on the part of the museum's staff to support the responsibility that has fallen to it. Contemporary American painting is by no means as bad as they make it seem to be. All this, aside from the fact that it can be claimed that the obligation to be fair to American painting by concentrating on its most aesthetically valuable aspects overrides the obligation to cover the field statistically.

At the very best the Whitney annuals can be taken as documents of changing trends that are important as signs of the times, if not as art. The most marked and, at first glance, the most surprising trend which this year's Annual reveals is that toward a neutralized, easy-to-accept abstract art, an ingratiating, pseudo-advanced kind of painting whose color and, to a lesser degree, design are kept academic enough to attract and charm people who do not otherwise take to non-representational art. An artist who has lately jumped into prominence in this new field is Theodoros Stamos, and a place of honor in the first room at the Whitney is given to his sickeningly sweet, inept, and utterly empty painting, "Altar." Stamos, as it happens, has borrowed most of his style from the lower registers of William Baziotes, a serious and vastly superior artist.

This trend toward an "attractive" abstract art is reinforced by an even more surprising and significant one, this on the part of artists who gained established and prize-winning reputations in the past by staying very close to Cézanne, Beckmann, or the Renaissance, and have now suddenly—all within the past year, it seems—gone over into abstract painting in order to prove themselves. Among these new converts are Philip Guston, John Heliker, William Palmer, Rico Lebrun, and Martin Friedman, old stand-bys of "safe" modern art whom the Whitney will invite to its annuals no matter what they do. It is their presence that has increased the proportion of abstract work at the Whitney; and this, ironically enough, is what accounts probably for the exclusion this year of such infinitely stronger artists as Pollock, Motherwell, and Richard Pousette-Dart—for fear no doubt of giving abstract painting a representation larger than that statistically due it. Yet all Guston, Heliker, *et al.* have changed in reality is the superficial aspect of their design, which they borrow in academically modern form from artists like Klee and Léger. Over this they lay color that in its glazed transparency and traditional organization according to darks and lights reminds us of everything painting got used to between Bellini and Delacroix. That the picture looks abstract does not matter so much as the fact that it does not feel any the less academic for that; it has only become, like Rouault, the latest in modern art for

• On View This Week •

JEAN DUBUFFET: Paintings and gouaches. Through December.
PIERRE MATISSE, 41 East 57th Street

1948 ANNUAL EXHIBITION of contemporary Painting. 160 artists represented. Covering all prevailing tendencies in contemporary American painting. Artists from 21 states participating. Through January 2.
WHITNEY MUSEUM, 10 West 8th Street

THE MODERN HOUSE COMES ALIVE. Dec. 6–24. Return engagement by popular request. Furnished scale models show integration of the arts in home design.
BERTHA SCHAEFER GALLERY, 32 East 57th Street

EDNA HIBEL—first New York showing—Mexican peasants, Seminole Indians, ballet dancers in a new medium—oil on paper—decorative boldly colored paintings—popularly priced.
JOHN LEVY GALLERIES, 11 East 57th Street

CHILDREN'S HOLIDAY FAIR, Dec. 8–Jan. 9: exhibits and workroom for ages 4 to 8. Photographs by Lisette Model, Bill Brandt, Ted Croner, Harry Callahan. Selected by Edward Steicher. To Jan. 30.
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 West 53rd Street

HEDDA STERNE, through December 18. GIGLIO DANTE—paintings and scrafido. Romantic and nostalgic pictures emphasized by a clear classical line. Dec. 20–Jan. 1. Also Christmas show—paintings and drawings under $150.
BETTY PARSONS GALLERY, 15 East 57th Street

LITHOGRAPHS 1798–1948. Examples from the Museum's print collection, including masterpieces by romantic and modern artists, in an exhibition marking the 150th anniversary of the invention of lithography.
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, Fifth Avenue at 82nd Street

Christmas Suggestions
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those who do not like the latest in modern art.

Guston and Heliker in particular have enough talent to make the formula very effective; they at least—which is more than can be said for Stamos—have always known how to put a picture together. In his "Tormentors," the painting that greets you as you enter the museum, Guston has put together an abstract picture so felicitously, and covered up a diversity of influences so skilfully, that you are puzzled at not being more moved by it. You recognize it immediately as academically modern and as saying nothing new; yet you cannot find a flaw in it. Time, you are sure, will strip the canvas down to its fundamentally empty facility, but meanwhile you have to wait. Obviously, Guston will have as much success as an "advanced" painter as he had when he was turning out diluted Beckmanns. What, however, is important in his case and that of the others is not the aesthetic result but the cultural significance of the felt necessity to prove oneself in the field of the abstract. It is hard to resist the pressure of the age, despite worldly success, and especially if you have some real talent to start with, as most of these expert neophytes have. Whatever resistance abstract art may meet with from the larger public, it presents a challenge whose seriousness even these painters cannot conceal from themselves.

John Marin—to go from the topical to the sublime—is again represented at the Whitney by a first-class picture, one of the few in the show. Marin's oils have of late been outdistancing his reputation, great as that is. But Willem deKooning's small whitish and yellow "Mail Box" is the best thing present—and it is not deKooning at his strongest either. Among the few other canvases of any merit to be seen are Charles Seliger's "Earth Crust" and Ben Shahn's "Allegory"—and this latter picture is symptomatic of another recent tendency in evidence at the Whitney: the easel painting offered as an emblem rather than as, strictly speaking, a picture. I would also say that Adolph Gottlieb, Bradley Walker Tomlin, Joseph Hirsch, and Reginald Marsh are represented by works that rise above the level of their neighbors on the Whitney's wall—and in the case of the last two I am just as surprised as anyone else. It only indicates how low the general level of the present exhibition is.

The presence of the late Arshile Gorky, one of the two or three genuinely important artists the Whitney showed enough discernment to invite to its annuals year after year, is greatly missed. Last year his magnificent "Calendars" practically blotted out the rest of the show; and, as I have already implied, the competition was much stiffer then. American art cannot afford Gorky's death, and it is doubly unfortunate that it came at a time when he was beginning effectively to realize the fulness of his gifts, giving promise of a production whose quality would surpass anything he had done so far. Gorky had already, at the age of forty-five, made himself one of the few, very few, artists qualified to represent American art to the world.

..."A PLAY WITH POLISH AND VIEWPOINT."..
—Chapman, News.
MICHAEL KANIN in association with ALDRICH & MYERS presents
MADELEINE CARROLL
in
GOODBYE, MY FANCY
A New Play by FAY KANIN
with CONRAD NAGEL • SHIRLEY BOOTH
and SAM WANAMAKER
Directed by MR. WANAMAKER
MOROSCO W. 45th St. Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AN OUTSTANDING event is the RCA Victor recording of an abridged version—the abridgment made by Thomson himself—of the Gertrude Stein-Virgil Thomson "Four Saints in Three Acts" (Set 1244, $7.25). Even without the unforgettable stage spectacle of the 1934 production the work is a delightful experience; and Thomson conducts the excellent soloists (some of them from the original cast), chorus, and orchestra in a clear and sharp performance. The experience is the more enjoyable for being made easy: most of the words are enunciated clearly; and instead of straining for the occasional unclear word you can read it on the album-cover. The performance is well reproduced.

The recording (Set 1247, $6) of part of Strauss's "Elektra"—from the entrance of Orestes to the end—confirms the impression of this work that I have retained from the several previous performances I have heard, including at least three conducted by Strauss himself in Vienna: that except for the quiet passage which Elektra sings after her recognition of Orestes the music is, for all the prodigious technical mastery with which it is contrived, very poor ("You don't like Elektra?" the Viennese would exclaim in amazement. "But have you seen the score?: each string section is divided in three parts. . . .") In that quiet passage Erna Schlüter produces some beautiful vocal tones and phrases; but at other times her singing is painfully tremolo-ridden and disagreeable in timbre. What little one hears of Ljuba Welitsch, the Chrysothemis, is steady but thin and edged; and the one voice that one enjoys is the baritone of Paul Schoeffler, the Orestes. Beecham conducts the Royal Philharmonic and the singers in a performance which seems to me excellently paced and shaped, and which is well reproduced except that the violins are a little veiled. The words, this time, are not printed on the album-cover; and the summary is incorrectly correlated with the music, which is incorrectly described. Thus, it is on side 3, not side 2, that Orestes says the dogs recognize him but his sister does not, and she does not then "burst into a savage monologue"; nor, earlier, has she "shriek[ed] with fury" when she has told him he lies.

There are also a few opera singles ($1.31 each). *Voi che sapete* from "Figaro" is beautifully sung by Eleanor Steber except for a little tremolo and shrillness in loud high notes, with Morel conducting a Victor orchestra in one of his alertly sensitive and finished accompaniments (12-0526, with the Waltz Song from Gounod's "Romeo"). Morel provides such accompaniments also for Florence Quartararo's excellent performance of *Tacea la notte placida* from "Il Trovatore" (12-0530); for Robert Merrill's hammed-up performance of *Largo al factotum* from "the Barber of Seville" (12-0450, with an excerpt from "Za-za"); and for Albanese's performance of *Il est bon* from "Hérodiade," which I mention only because of the extraordinary singing and because the recording is an

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outstanding example of the kind Victor has been doing with opera—in which the orchestra is heard with sufficient clarity and volume all around the voice, instead of being blanketed by the voice. Then two dull Wagnerian excerpts: *Die Frist is um* from "Der fliegende Holländer," well sung by Berglund with an orchestra under Blech (12-0532); and the Rome Narrative from "Tannhäuser," well sung by Svanholm except for strain and tremolo in loud high notes, with a Victor orchestra under Weissmann (12-0528).

Another single (12-0533) offers Buxtehude's Cantata "Aperite mihi portas justitiae"—merely pleasant music, but a beautiful performance by Aksel Schötz and a few other singers and players. And another (12-0580) Schubert's "Der Doppelgänger" and "Der Jüngling und der Tod," well sung by Marian Anderson except for a few notes in the second song that are not securely on pitch, with characteristic superb piano frameworks provided by Rupp.

And finally a set (1267, $4.75) of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.218, performed by Heifetz with the Royal Philharmonic under Beecham. Listening to Heifetz's simply phrased and in all other ways beautiful playing in the first movement I thought I was going to have the pleasure of reporting a musically first-rate Heifetz performance at last; but the second movement brought the more characteristic wailing upward slides for expressive effect, and the finale brought excessively clipped staccatos for whatever effect was intended. The performance is excellently reproduced. But I might mention that the old Szigeti-Beecham-London Philharmonic performance is reproduced in a way that is still acceptable; and Szigeti's dynamic phrasing in the first movement, his pure cantilena in the second, his light-stepping grace in the finale still make this the performance to prefer.

Two friends who heard Michelangeli's first performance of the Schumann Piano Concerto with the New York Philharmonic on the Thursday before the Sunday of the broadcast have told me it was almost excessively quiet and restrained—so that it looks as though someone talked him into putting those extravagances of pace, dynamics, and phrasing into the broadcast performance.

Books of 1948: A Selected List

BELLES LETTRES

The Dispossessed. By John Berryman. Sloane Associates. $2.50.

The Collected Poems of John Peale Bishop. Edited, and with an Introduction, by Allen Tate. Scribner's. $3.50.

Stranger at Coney Island. By Kenneth Fearing. Harcourt, Brace. $2.

Losses. By Randall Jarrell. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

The Double-Axe. By Robinson Jeffers. Random House. $2.75.

The Rocking Chair and Other Poems. By A. M. Klein. Ryerson Press. $2.25.

Actfive and Other Poems. By Archibald MacLeish. Random House. $2.50.

The Pisan Cantos. By Ezra Pound. New Directions. $2.75.

The Song of the Cold. By Edith Sitwell. Vanguard. $2.75.

Poems, 1922-1947. By Allen Tate. Scribner's. $2.50.

New Poems. By Mark Van Doren. Sloane Associates. $2.50.

Selected Poems. By Vernon Watkins. New Directions. $3.

Paterson (Book Two). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

Other Voices, Other Rooms. By Truman Capote. Random House. $2.75.

The Gesture. By John Cobb. Harper. $3.

Bullivant and the Lambs. By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Knopf. $3.

Intruder in the Dust. By William Faulkner. Random House. $3.

The Heart of the Matter. By Graham Greene. Viking. $3.

Ape and Essence. By Aldous Huxley. Harper. $2.50.

On the Marble Cliffs. By Ernst Junger. New Directions. $2.50.

The Penal Colony. By Franz Kafka. Schocken Books. $3.

The Naked and the Dead. By Norman Mailer. Rinehart. $4.

World Without Visa. By Jean Malaquais. Doubleday. $3.75.

Doctor Faustus. By Thomas Mann. Knopf. $3.50.

Stalingrad. By Theodor Plievier. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.

The Green Child. By Herbert Read. New Directions. $2.75.

Nausea. By Jean-Paul Sartre. New Directions. $3.

The World Is a Wedding. By Delmore Schwartz. New Directions. $2.75.

The Young Lions. By Irwin Shaw. Random House. $3.95.

Conspirator. By Humphrey Slater. Harcourt, Brace. $2.75.

The Golden Land. An Anthology of Latin American Folklore. Translated, with Running Comments and Notes, by Harriet de Onís. Knopf. $5.

The Scenic Art. By Henry James. Edited by Allan Wade. Rutgers. $4.50.

Supplement Two. The American Language. By H. L. Mencken. Knopf. $7.50.

Marvelous Journey. A Survey of Four Centuries of Brazilian Writing. By Samuel Putnam. Knopf. $4.

The Mirror of Magic. By Kurt Seligmann. Pantheon Books. $8.50.

A Sarmiento Anthology. Translated from the Spanish by Stuart Edgar Grummon. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Allison Williams Bunkley. Princeton. $5.

Monsieur Teste. By Paul Valéry. Translated from the French and with a Note on Valéry by Jackson Mathews. Knopf. $5.

The Portable Greek Reader. Edited, and with an Introduction, by W. H. Auden. Viking. $2.

The Portable Hawthorne. Edited by Malcolm Cowley. Viking. $2.

The Portable Plato. Edited by Scott Buchanan. Viking. $2.

The Portable Swift. Edited by Carl Van Doren. Viking. $2.

The Portable Veblen. Edited by Max Lerner. Viking. $2.

THE ARTS

Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century. By George Kubler. Yale. 2 volumes. $15.

New World of Space. A Record in Three *Mediums.* By Le Corbusier. Reynal and Hitchcock. $6.

An Outline of European Architecture. By Nikolaus Pevsner. Scribner's. $5.

Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art. Edited by Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

Aesthetics and History in the Visual Arts. By Bernard Berenson. Pantheon Books. $4.

American Landscape Painting. By Wolfgang Born. Yale. $7.50.

The Book of Costume. By Millia Davenport. Crown. 2 volumes. $15.

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[The first part of this list appeared in the issue of December 4.]

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Letters to the Editors

Twentieth-Century America or Sixteenth-Century Spain?

Dear Sirs: At 7 a.m. on Monday, October 25, my wife and I were awakened by a caller. My wife went to the door, where she was greeted by a federal marshal who served her with a subpoena requiring her presence "forthwith" (which means immediately) before a federal grand jury in Los Angeles. At first my wife and I considered this summons some form of pre-election political pressure, as my wife had been active in the San Fernando Valley area on behalf of various Progressive Party candidates.

We soon found the matter was more serious.

My wife drove into Los Angeles at once in search of legal advice, while I remained home. I spent the rest of the day on the telephone as calls poured in from the husband or wife of one after another impounded citizen, and we all tried to determine what had happened, what to do about suddenly abandoned children, what to do about lawyers.

At 5 p.m. my wife called, asking me to come downtown and pick up our car as she "might be detained in jail overnight." I went down to the Federal Building, arriving about 7 p.m., and there for almost five hours I watched the remarkable events in United States District Court No. 3, Judge Pierson M. Hall presiding.

Ten "witnesses"—six men and four women—had been routed from their beds at dawn. Dozens of others had fled from their homes. The unlucky ten were rushed before the federal grand jury, itself hastily summoned for the occasion. Legal counsel for the "witnesses" had to drop their scheduled activities and were given no time to prepare their strategy.

The ten "witnesses" were shuttled about in the Federal Building for fifteen hours. Before the grand jury and later before Judge Hall they were asked four questions: Did they know the leaders of the Communist Party in Los Angeles? Did they know the table of organization of the Communist Party in Los Angeles? Did they know "Ned Sparks"? Did they know Vincent Russo? This last was obviously a trick question, for Mr. Russo is a special investigator attached to the Department of Justice.)

The "witnesses" were unanimously advised by their attorneys that the questions violated their constitutional rights under the First and Fifth Amendments; violated their right to privacy of association; and, no matter what answer might be given, could lead only to contempt citations, on the one hand, or loss of prestige and perhaps of employment, on the other.

Apprised of their rights, the "witnesses" twice refused to answer the questions.

The grand jury was kept in continuous session until 12:20 a.m. At midnight the courtroom was jammed, the atmosphere tense. Armed guards, with guns, handcuffs, and billies hanging from their belts, were stationed across the rear of the room. Eight armed deputy sheriffs were stationed in the corridor. At last the ten "witnesses," with guards lined up behind them, were ranged before the judge to receive his final ruling. Each of them was then sentenced "to indefinite commitment to federal jail without bail until you answer these questions."

The "witnesses" were then moved by the guards to the left side of the courtroom to face the grand jury. Two of them who were the mothers of small children were excused and given twenty-four hours to settle their domestic problems. The six men—four of them World War II veterans, one the recipient of the Distinguished Flying Cross—were then handcuffed together and placed between armed guards. Police matrons ranged themselves alongside the two remaining women. The entire party then marched across the street to the county jail, to the accompaniment of flash bulbs and shouting reporters. The "witnesses" were then fingerprinted, "mugged," and, at about 2 a.m., locked in their cells, twenty hours after the federal marshals had set out with their summonses.

Judge Hall had affably told the "witnesses" that he was not "prosecuting" or "investigating" any of them; he sim-

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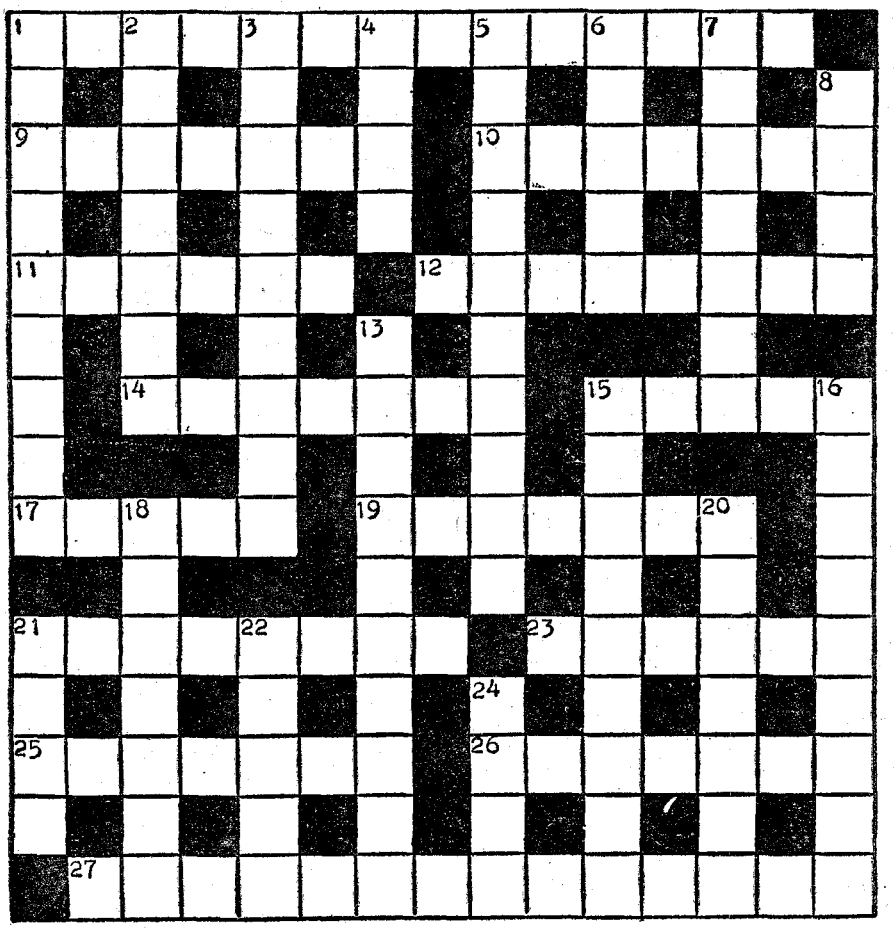
Crossword Puzzle No. 291

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Rembrandt's are, in effect. (6, 8)
9 Allotting a part, or throwing it away? (7)
10 A good judge of the sort of board he made. (7)
11 Is a mad king back out of the land? (6)
12 A particular account of repugnance? (8)
14 The liver goes well but turns red around the edges. (7)
15 See 13.
17 With these, anyone can get a hangover at home. (5)
19 Burden of the unforgiving. (7)
21 Shows that Shakespeare said are forgot. (8)
23 Doesn't come up often. (6)
25 People use one to join in the reel. (7)
26 His opening words are famous. (3,4)
27 Do these keep nothing from being soiled? (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Contrive to confuse the maniac! (9)
2 Peaked, like the end of 16. (7)
3 The less one is, the less sound. (9)
4 Sow one of these on some farms. (4)
5 Descriptive of almost any body? (10)
6 This makes a number colorful. (5)
7 Comparatively far back. (7)
8 On the face of things, it looks like part of the foot is broken. (4)
13 and 15 across. Far for light arms to come out of the book. (6, 4, 5)
15 Tearing an ABC member into pieces. (9)
16 This type, though little, doesn't refer to "beanies." (5, 4)
18 A bean is merely an article in the house. (7)
20 Ground hog? (7)
21 Adjective for an investigating body (4)
22 This is always in a terrific hurry. (5)
24 Should be a round dance. (4)

≈=≈

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 290

ACROSS:—1 THE THREE BEARS; 10 SHIRR; 11 FOREBEARS; 12 GODLINESS; 13 RATEL; 14 CAPITAL SHIPS; 19 CROSS SECTION; 22 REBEC; 24 BRONZE AGE; 25 INAMORATA; 26 NANCY; 27 ESPRIT DE CORPS.

DOWN:—2 HAIR-DO; 3 TERMINALS; 4 REFLEXIVE; 5 EARNS; 6 EMBER; 7 ROAST PIG; 8 OSAGE; 9 USELESS; 15 ASTROLABE; 16 SFORZANDO; 17 SCORPIO; 18 FORBEARS; 20 CAT NAP; 21 PEPYS; 23 CHOIR; 24 BLAST.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

ply held the grand jury in session most of the night and then sentenced the "witnesses" to jail indefinitely, *without bail*, until they answered the four given questions. The "witnesses" were jailed with forgers, drug addicts, and common criminals for nine days. On November 1 they were ordered released by Judge William Denman of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. But Judge Hall refused to release them for thirty-eight hours—until after Election Day. Even before they were finally released, they were served with new subpoenas requiring their immediate presence before the grand jury. They were not immediately returned to jail, however, pending the argument on Judge Denman's writ of release.

This argument was conducted on November 22 in San Francisco. The Circuit Court of Appeals then refused to make any ruling and decided to review the whole case on December 10. The Circuit Court also got the government to agree to postpone all further moves until that date.

Three of the men under criminal contempt are to be heard on December 13,

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and Mrs. Noble and the others will appear again in court, probably before the grand jury, on December 15.

If the court rules on December 10 that the government exceeded its powers in prosecuting these people, the whole case will probably be dropped. If the court gives a green light on December 10, the government will probably go ahead with its prosecutions and greatly expand their range.

Nobody is out of the woods yet, but the defense lawyers feel that they gained a good deal of ground before the Circuit Court after a big debate on the whole issue. In his writ freeing the "witnesses" on bail Judge Denman declared that such "coercive" employment of the grand-jury process as has been seen in this case "suggests sixteenth-century Spain rather than the Fifth Amendment." Those who agree with him might wire or write to United States Attorney General Tom Clark, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., or to United States Attorney James M. Carter, Federal Building, Los Angeles, California, and tell them so.

HOLLISTER NOBLE

Los Angeles, December 1

A Good Record

Dear Sirs: I was always completely unable to understand why *The Nation* was so sure the Democratic Party could not win. I have known all along that Truman was going to be reelected. This has been a Democratic country for years, and there was no reason to suppose people had changed their minds. The weakness of *The Nation* is that it operates in an intellectual atmosphere which is evidenly apart from the average man. The average man does not know about possible errors in foreign policy which distress the intellectual; he does know that he does not want a Republican as President.

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CHARLES G. HAMILTON, Chairman,
Young Democrats of Mississippi

Aberdeen, Miss., November 8

[Fellow-intellectuals from Alsop to Winchell, move over!—EDITORS THE NATION]

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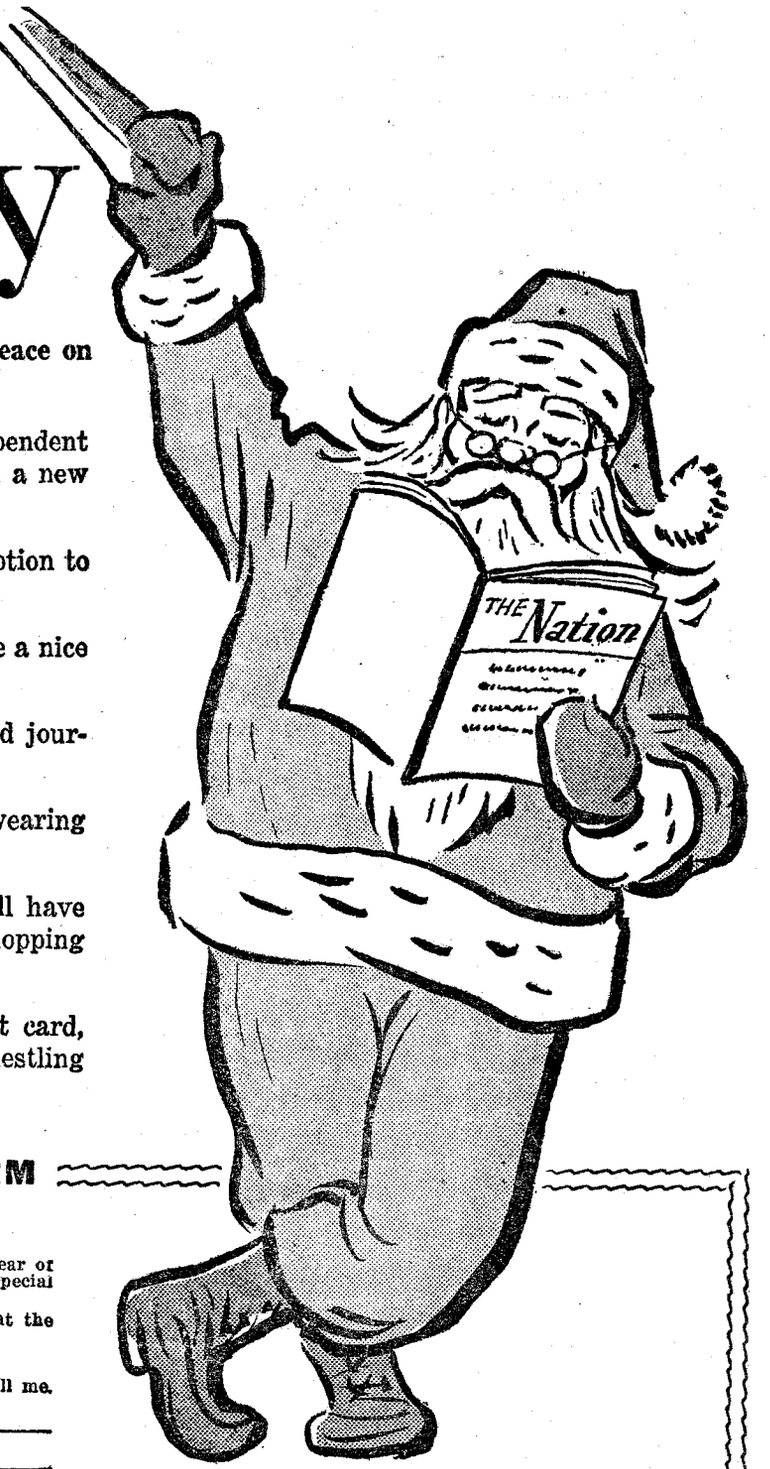

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